

**A Study of Chinese Policy towards National Minorities with
Reference to Higher Education: A Case Study of the Central
University for Nationalities**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis critically reviews Chinese educational policies towards national minorities from 1921 until today. The aim is to examine the continuity and change of Chinese policies from pluralism to assimilation. The concepts of intercultural education provide the conceptual framework for the study in that there should be an understanding, acceptance and constructive relations among people of many different cultures. All the groups, whether minorities or majority, have to learn the culture of others. Teaching cultural understanding has to become an integral part of the curriculum in China.

To reinforce the above framework, the ancient Chinese "Middle Kingdom" concept is introduced. This concept claimed that there is only one civilisation in the world, which is China. Outside the "Middle Kingdom" are the barbarians. Any barbarian who wishes to be "civilised" has to join in and become Chinese, meaning be assimilated. This theory has been dominating majority Chinese people's attitude towards outsiders, i.e. national groups, for the last two thousand years and is still playing a very important role in today's policy formulation and implementation process in respect of cultural diversity. Yet equality is stressed in Chinese educational policies. To the national minority groups, the government especially emphasised two issues in addition to its general policies, namely bilingual education and religious restriction. By directing these two issues to the national minorities only, the government has already failed on "equality" principles, because religious beliefs and being bilingual are not just the concerns of national minority members.

A case study is used to analyse the government's policy towards national minorities. This study collected the opinions of teachers, students and their parents, administrators as well as the graduates from the Central University for Nationalities in Beijing. Interview and questionnaire methods were employed, which involved the English, Chinese and Uyghur languages. Simple analytical methods, such as mean and frequency, were used to analyse the data collected. The main finding of the thesis is that there is still only one policy towards national minorities in China, namely assimilation.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	2
Acknowledgement	3
Table of contents	4
List of Tables	7
List of Figures	8
List of Abbreviations	9
Map	10
Illustration of National Minorities	11

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1	Introduction.....	12
1.2.	Intercultural Education in China.....	12
1.3	Purpose of the Study	18
1.4	Statement of the Problem.....	18
1.5	Research Question	20
1.6	Limitations of the Study.....	21
1.7	Research Method	22
1.8	Organisation of the Thesis	24

Chapter Two

Multicultural States and Educational Consequences

2.1	Introduction.....	27
2.2	Concept of Nationalism	28
2.3	State Response to Multicultural Society	32
2.3.1	Assimilation	32
2.3.2	Pluralism	35
2.3.3	Population Transfer.....	36
2.3.4	Subjugation.....	38
2.3.5	Extermination.....	38
2.4	Educational Consequences.....	39
2.5	Role of Education in the Social Change	44
2.5.1	Role of Education in General	44
2.5.2	Role of Higher Education.....	46
2.6	Conclusion.....	49

Chapter Three

The Chinese Concept of Nationalism and its Educational Consequences

3.1	Introduction.....	51
3.2	The Chinese Concept of Nationalism and National Minorities	52
3.2.1	Nationalism	52

3.2.2	The Concept of National Minority	55
3.3	Policies towards National Minorities Before 1949	60
3.4	Policies in the Years of Political Movements and their Educational Consequences.....	63
3.5	Policies in the Economic Reform Era.....	70
3.6	Conclusion	73

Chapter Four

The Central University for Nationalities in China's Higher Educational System

4.1	Introduction.....	77
4.2	The Guiding Principles	79
4.3	Management Organisation.....	84
4.4	Reforms of Management.....	91
4.4.1	Institutional Autonomy	94
4.4.2	Presidential System	98
4.5	Conclusion	100

Chapter Five

The Pilot Study

5.1	Introduction.....	102
5.2	The Setting.....	103
5.3	Data Collected from the Students	106
5.3.1	Experience in the University	107
5.3.2.	Values and Social Status.....	108
5.3.3	Future Plans.....	111
5.3.4.	Suggestions for Improvement.....	112
5.3.5	Findings from the Students' Data.....	113
5.4	The Interviews with Teachers.....	115
5.5	Interviews with the Administrators.....	124
5.5.1	The Language Issue.....	125
5.5.2	Religious Issues.....	128
5.5.3	Findings from the administrators' data	130
5.6	Implication of the Pilot Study	131

Chapter Six

The Main Field Study

6.1	Introduction.....	136
6.2	National Identity versus National Uniformity	140
6.3	Policy Formulation versus Implementation.....	147
6.4	Maintaining Identity versus Modernisation	153
6.5	Job Aspiration and Educational Qualification.....	160

6.6	Conclusion	167
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Chapter Seven

National Minorities and Educational Policy

7.1	Introduction.....	171
7.2	Relevance of the Findings to the Research Question.....	173
7.2.1	Historical Heritage	174
7.2.2	Development	175
7.2.3	Role of Education.....	178
7.2.4	Civilisation.....	179
7.2.5	Pluralism or Assimilation.....	181
7.3	Education and Social Factors.....	187
7.3.1	Language and National Minority Education	187
7.3.2	Religion and National Minority Education	193
7.3.3	Social Value and National Minority Education	197
7.3.4	Psychology and National Minority Education	200
7.3.5	Geographical Environment and Education	205
7.3.6	The Population and Their Education.....	207
7.4	Conclusion	209

Chapter Eight:

Conclusion and Possibilities for Future Research

8.1	The Main Conclusions.....	212
8.2	Possibilities for Future Research.....	221

Bibliography	223
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Appendices	238
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LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1. Population growth of the major nationalities in Xinjiang between 1949-84...	37
Table 2.2. Population of Han and Mongolian in Inner-Mongolian 1947-1989.....	37
Table 2.3. The compositions of students and teachers in Yianbian University.....	42
Table 2.4. Han and non-Han students at higher learning institution in Xinjiang.....	43
Table 3-1 Major national minority groups in the PRC.....	58
Table 4.1 Number of national minority students, teachers, staff & workers enrolled in regular schools at various levels (1996).....	83
Table 5.1 Response by the students to the question related to experience in the CUN...	108
Table 5.2 Response by the students to the question related to value and social status...	110
Table 5.3 Response by the students to the question related to future plan.....	111
Table 5.4 Suggestions made by 12 students for CUN's improvement.....	113
Table 5.5 Illiteracy and semi-literacy among those age 12 and above in 1982.....	118
Table 6.1 The plan of the fieldwork.....	138
Table 6.2 National identity influenced by Han's culture.....	141
Table 6.3 Are you happy with the school system of the CUN relating following Factors.....	148
Table 6.4 To what extent that discrimination against national minorities exist.....	160
Table 6.5 What is the main reason to study in the CUN.....	161
Table 6.6 Expectations of the CUN students.....	162
Table 6.7 Future plans of the CUN students.....	164
Table 6.8 Student's satisfaction levels.....	166
Table 6.9 Outline of the field visits.....	168
Table 7. 1. Languages categorised in China.....	192

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1. China's Educational Administration Structure	85
Figure 4.2. The Structure of National Minority's Higher Educational system.....	90
Figure 4.3. The Structure of the University.....	92
Figure 4.4. The Structure of the University (CCP).....	92
Figure 4.5. The Structure of the department.....	99
Figure 4.6. Organisational Structure of the department in the CUN.....	99
Figure 5.1. Higher education as expected by people in the CUN.....	133
Figure 7.1. Chinese Government's policy and its implication in education.....	186

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCP: the Chinese Communist Party

CCPUC: the University Committee of the CCP

CUN: Central University for Nationalities

KMT: the Chinese Nationalist Party

PRC: the People's Republic of China

P. No.: the Participant Number

SCNMA: the State Commission for National Minorities' Affairs

SEC: the State Education Commission

XEC: Xinjiang Education Commission

SRC: Staff Representative Conference

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Beijing Review, no. 6, February 9, 1979.

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Illustration of National Minority Students

(Source: CUN, 1994)

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter, as the introduction to the thesis, provides information relating to the whole study which is about Chinese policy towards national minorities. It starts by discussing some key background factors relating to national minorities in China. These factors are the general socio-economic situation of national minority groups, including population data, the main features of national minorities; the concept of national minority and the study of intercultural education. Following this, the purposes of the study, the research problem, the research questions, the limitation of the study, the research methods together with the organisation of the thesis are also discussed. The main sections of this chapter are therefore:

- 1.1. Introduction
- 1.2. Intercultural education in China
- 1.3. Purpose of the study
- 1.4. Statement of the problem
- 1.5. Research questions
- 1.6. Limitation of the study
- 1.7. Research method
- 1.8. Organisation of the thesis

1.2. Intercultural Education in China

There is a large amount of European and North American literature on intercultural education in multicultural societies, for instance, Banks, (1995), Batelaan, (1983) and Campani & Gundara, (1994). Perhaps it is best exemplified in “The World Yearbook of

Education 1997: Intercultural Education".(Coulby et al, 1997) Many of the contributors, for example, Dong, (1997) echo Pusch's comment that intercultural education in a multicultural society should be understood as a structured process which is designed to promote understanding, acceptance, and constructive relations between people of many different cultures.(Pusch, 1979) In an ideal world, intercultural education encourages people who live in a multicultural society to learn and to respect different cultures as a part of knowledge,. Although the main issues in this field of study are culture, nationality and race, the content of intercultural education should also include socio-economic differences, professional differences, religious differences and linguistic differences. Gundara's (1994) theory about intercultural education supports the suggestion that people have to build up an awareness of their own cultural heritage, and meanwhile understand that no one culture is intrinsically superior to another. In this, he is in agreement with Pusch, who states that intercultural education is not just a simple set of national or other area study programmes. It is an effort to demonstrate the importance of similarities and differences between cultural groups and between individuals within those groups. (Pusch, 1979)

The concept of intercultural education in a multicultural society can be said to have three different stages, (Verne, 1987), generally developing from assimilation towards pluralism. In the first stage, intercultural education was mainly concerned to teach the official language more effectively to children who heard and spoke another language at home. It quickly developed to the second stage, which was to teach such students their mother tongue while also teaching the official language. The issue of bilingual education therefore represents the second stage. The main concern of the third stage is no longer the minorities alone but every social group, including the dominant group. This viewpoint is also supported by Garcea(1998), i.e. all groups, whether minorities or the majority, need to understand the culture of others. Teaching different cultures is therefore becoming an integral part of the curriculum renewal. (OECD, 1987) There will be further discussion relating to the concept of intercultural education in Chapter Two.

In China, however, intercultural education is a new area of study. Unlike most western

countries, national identity in China is not simply a matter of race. Nationality is mainly identified by culture, which includes language, religion, custom and tradition. Secondly, national minorities in China are not migrants. According to the historical records, Chinese national minority groups have been living on their land for hundreds or thousands of years. They have been called "minority" only since the Han Chinese conquered them and they are now minorities in relation to the larger Han Chinese population. In China now, the concept of "Chinese" includes all the national group members together with the majority. However, the original Chinese within China are known as "Han". Han to Chinese is like English to British with similar ambiguities in meaning.

For many of the Han majority, "national minority" means to be backward and poor in China. However there are 55 national groups within the country. They make up only 9% of the 1.2 billion Chinese population (i.e. about 110 million), but are distributed over approximately 60% of the territory. (SEC, 1997) They are mainly distributed in five national minority autonomous regions, which are Inner Mongolia, (Northeast), Xinjiang and Ningxia (Northwest), Tibet (Southwest) and Guangxi (south), and Yunnan, Guizhou provinces. (See map p10) As Sun (1990) has concluded, the minority areas in China have five major characteristics:

- 1) Though small in population, when compared with the Han (Chinese), the minorities inhabit nearly 60% of the total area of China. Most of these areas are mountainous, or plateau, pastoral land and forest.
- 2) The minority areas are generally rich in soil and mineral deposits, which are important to the national economy.
- 3) Most are also situated in frontier regions, carrying a substantial importance for national defence.
- 4) Because of the frequent movements from one place to another, migrations and changes of dynasties in the past, the people of various minorities have intermingled and live in mixed or compact communities. Where a minority group lives in a compact community, the Han and some other national groups may live in mingled or separate communities.

5) Of the 55 national minority groups, 53 have their own native languages. Since 1949, 21 of these groups have had their written scripts and in addition, the Hui(Chinese Muslim) and the Manchu people have taken Han Chinese as their mother tongue. (Sun, 1990)

There are various religious faiths, different customs and habits among the minority groups as a result of historical factors. The prevalent religions are: Islam, among the Hui, Uygur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Tajik, Tatar, Uzbek, Dongxiang, Salar and Baoan; Mahayana Buddhism among the Tibetan (as Lamaism), Mongolian, Tu and Yugur; and Hinayana Buddhism among the Dai, Blang, De'ang, Achang and part of Wa. Quite a few nationalities worship nature or ancestors and believe in gods and ghosts. Western missionaries have brought Protestant and Catholic Christianity to certain nationalities in recent years, but the number of converts is relatively small. (Song, 1993)

Many national minority groups are famed for their fine singing and dancing as well as the refinement of their national cultural tradition. In the treasury of China's arts and science, those of her minority groups are a resplendent component. In the making of Chinese civilisation, each nationality has made its own contribution and none can claim exclusive credit for itself.

In the north, many nationalities, mainly those practising husbandry, have played an important part in promoting the economy of the country. The ancient Xiong-lu as well as their ancestors, the North-di, developed horse breeding. Later on it spread to the Central Plain (Huaxia area) and promoted the development of agriculture, animal husbandry and communication. Prior to that time, there were no mounted troops within the army of the Han people, but later the Han military force was strengthened as it learned from them. (Song, 1993) In the south, at least 3000 years ago the Bei-yue tribes developed paddy field agriculture with an irrigation system. Since then, China has become famous for its rice production which has consequently become the staple food of the southern Chinese people. (Song, 1993) These examples demonstrate that many important achievements, which have enriched Chinese culture, were first developed by various minority

nationalities and later on became beneficial to all people.

As people of all nationalities are the creators of the country, there should be equality among them no matter whether large or small in population, advanced or backward in development and concentrated or scattered. However, for various historical reasons, there has been national oppression in China, mainly from the Han towards minority groups, with no equality between them. The national minorities have been often discriminated against. Many of them have been afraid to practise their religions, sometimes they were afraid of speaking their own languages or even wearing their national costumes. This is described in more detail in subsequent chapters.

The Chinese government is not unaware of the national minorities' situation in China and has tried to emphasise "equality" in its policies. This is supported in the Constitution and the National Minority Areas Autonomy Act of 1983 and 1984. However, the minority groups' situation has not changed much since 1949, when the Communist Party came to power. National minority members often wonder why policy and reality do not match up and where the real problem is. Chinese scholars see the area of intercultural education in a multicultural society as virgin land, but have not set up a real study. The first reason is because very little literature and few statistics can be found within the Chinese territory in relation to national minority education, and those that do exist are often inaccurate. Secondly, the national minority issue is an extremely sensitive subject in China and it is directly rooted in the government's policy. Anyone who lives within Chinese territory has to think twice about tackling or confronting such problems, as the field of intercultural education is still relatively new. Therefore, studies relating to national minorities and education are dependent upon the decision of government. The research carried out by the government often regards national minorities' education as bilingual education for the national group members, i.e. national minorities should be allowed to use their own language, but more importantly should be literate in Chinese language. (Teng, 1996) It seems that in China, the study of intercultural education still remains at the first stage of development, i.e. the main concern is to teach the official language more effectively to children who hear and speak another language at home. (Teng, 1996) As

every national group is a contributor to Chinese history (Song, 1993), everyone deserves mutual respect and everybody has to learn the culture of others. As the government, the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) has the duty to build up awareness among the nations. Teaching different cultures has to become an integral part of any new curriculum.

As a member of one of China's minority groups, the writer of this thesis was puzzled by the fact that the government's policy and implementation did not seem, on the surface, to fit together. The question was often asked: "Where does the problem come from, the policy formulation or the policy implementation? Or perhaps both?" Therefore, it seemed very important to set up this research and to try to explain some issues in this area of concern. In addition to this personal interest, the writer was also aware that very little had been done in this area by other scholars.

By 1994, when this study began, there were only three noticeable research studies relating to the Chinese educational policy towards national minorities which had been carried out by Chinese national minority group members outside China. The first study was done by a Korean scholar in the USA, J. Nam, his topic being related to the Korean group in China. (Nam, 1989) The second one was by H. Arshidin, an Uyghur lecturer from Xinjiang University. Her study was carried out in the UK and concentrated on national minorities' education in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, one of the five national minority autonomous regions in China. (Arshidin, 1991) The third one was by Zou and Trueba, who mainly looked at the Miao nationality's education in southern China and their research was completed in the USA. (Zou & Trueba, 1994) The three research studies above have made a great contribution to the field of Chinese national minorities' education and Chinese policy toward national minorities since 1949. However, these studies seem to emphasise either one particular group or one particular location. In fact it is important and interesting to have a wider view of Chinese general policy towards all the national minorities, because by studying the policy as a whole, it will show more clearly that in practice, if not in theory, there is only one policy towards all the national minorities, i.e. assimilation.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The over-all purpose of this study is to provide a clear perspective on Chinese national minorities' education and the government's policies towards these minorities that have been implemented since 1949. It is not expected that the study will resolve a current problem. What is more interesting here are the facts, what has happened, why it happened and how it happened. The study will investigate Chinese policies toward national minorities with a special emphasis on a specific higher educational institution—the Central University for the Nationalities (CUN) in Beijing, as a specific case and will serve the following purposes:

- 1). The study will examine the continuity and change in Chinese policies toward national minorities from pluralism to assimilation, which is quite the opposite to general developments world-wide.
- 2) The study hopes to make a contribution to an understanding of Chinese national minorities and their educational progress.
- 3). The study will try to clarify how the central government's policies are being implemented towards national minorities.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

This study adopts the basic assumption that educational development has been unsatisfactory in terms of the needs and aspiration of national minority students and their parents. There is a strong demand for equality and equal opportunity. Intercultural education is needed in China, as it is a multicultural society. In spite of all the factors that were mentioned earlier, very little has been done in the school curriculum to address the

various issues of pluralism in China, and there are no formal intercultural education programmes in place. As is pointed out in the Constitution, China is a "big family" formed by 56 different nationalities, Han (Chinese) and the other 55 national minority groups. The government promised that "every member of this family" has an equal right to have its own educational system, everybody has an equal chance of access to higher education and to job opportunities. As a matter of fact, only 6% of the students in higher learning institutions are from national minorities, (SEC, 1997) which is 50% lower compared to their percentage of the population, i.e. 9 %. Among the national minority group members, only those who graduate from Han schools are likely to have the opportunity to enter higher educational institutions, find jobs and be promoted. Discrimination against national minorities happens in the inland provinces and happens more often in national minority autonomous regions. The statistics show that only a quarter of university graduates among national minority groups in Xinjiang are able to get a job within six months of their graduation. The rest have to wait up to four or five years.(XEC, 1996) The main reason stated is that their Chinese is not good enough. First of all national minorities have problems in being enrolled by the universities, then those who consider themselves very fortunate, the university graduates, can not find a job. To acquire entry into higher education and to fulfil their aspiration for a job, national minorities have to compromise. They have to give up their mother tongue school and study in a Han school from a very early age. As a result, national minority education is replaced by Han education. Education, it would seem, is being used as a process of assimilation. It makes one wonder what happened to the "equal" opportunity stated in the government's policy.

A main reason for this as far as traditional Chinese nationalism is concerned is that there was only one civilisation, which was "Zhongguo" (Middle Kingdom) referring to ancient China. Outside of the "Middle Kingdom" all others were barbarians. (Nam,1989) If anyone of these "barbarians" wanted to be "civilised", first of all they have to have a Chinese (i.e. Han) education, which meant speaking Chinese, dressing like the Han Chinese and following Han Chinese traditions. This past traditional philosophy has strongly influenced the present attitudes of ordinary people towards the national

minorities in China. What is guiding many people fundamentally regarding the policy and its implementation is the “Middle Kingdom” theory. It appears everywhere in a person’s daily life, which indicates that intercultural education is vitally needed in China. It needs to incorporate an awareness of one’s own cultural heritage and the understanding that no one culture is intrinsically superior to another. (Verne, 1987)

1.5 Research Question

The main research question of this study is “**what are the enduring features of Chinese policy, especially educational policy, towards national minorities?**” This main question raises the following sub-questions:

- 1) What are the major types of policies developed by the dominant groups in a multicultural society and how do they affect the educational system? The major types of policies developed by the dominant groups, according to Simpson and Yinger (1971), can be roughly categorised as assimilation, cultural pluralism, population transfer and subjugation. The discussion of these policies is located within the broader intercultural education literature. These concerns are discussed principally in Chapter Two and Three.
- 2) What are the basic policies towards national minorities in China and their educational consequences? At different historical periods, different policies were introduced by the Chinese. The Communist Chinese policy started with pluralism, because it had to unite every possible nationality and win the civil war from 1921 to 1950, and this gradually developed into assimilation, as China grew stronger. This is examined in Chapter Three and Four.
- 3) What is the structure of the Chinese educational system, and how does it function in relation to national minorities? Education in China is highly centralised. From primary education to higher education, the control is in central government’s hands. From policy

formulation to the implementation process, the government claims it has the perfect structure to deliver its messages. This is discussed in Chapter Four.

4) What assumptions underpin the policy implementation process? In particular, how important is the “Middle Kingdom” concept for policy implementation? The “Middle Kingdom” concept has been dominating the Han’s mind for at least 2,000 years, since the West Han dynasty (206 BC-25 AD). It was the ancient Chinese civilisation which made the Han Chinese particularly proud of themselves and makes them look down upon the non-Han groups in China. The detail of “Middle Kingdom” concept is discussed in Chapter Three.

5) What are the reactions from teachers, students and their parents, as well as the administrators at university level, towards the government's policy and implementation?

It is not a normal practice for a Chinese citizen to be critical towards the government’s policy, especially in the public or with a complete stranger. However, the field study, which discussed in Chapters Five and Six, did explore these reactions.

6) What is the main role of the higher learning institutions which are specifically established for the national minorities in China? Both the government and national minorities have very high expectations from the higher educational institutions in China. The discussion concerning the role of higher education is located mainly in Chapters Two, Five and Six.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

Three limitations of this thesis should be addressed. The first was the lack of sufficient literature in both Chinese and English. There is quite a considerable published literature concerning Chinese education, a similar one relating to national minorities in China, but unfortunately, very little documented research actually puts these two subjects together.

In fact it was very difficult to find one substantive work which indicates the education of national minorities as an independent subject of study in China. Only in 1990 was "The Concept of Chinese National Minorities' Education" (Sun, 1990) published. It can be considered the greatest contribution so far in this field of study in China. It is a general work about national minorities' education and other social phenomena. (Teng, 1996)

The second difficulty concerns the collection and interpretation of data, because of problems relating to availability and reliability. For political, strategic and tactical reasons, statistical instruments have not always been very accurate in China. Much valuable information has been withheld, especially during the 1960s and 1970s. As happens in many other states, official information is sometimes biased both for internal political reasons and external presentation. Another special problem relating to the data is to decipher the hidden meaning or indirect messages when interpreting the official texts and translating the interviews. It requires a substantial general knowledge of Chinese history and cultural background to analyse the data.

Finally, national minorities in the Communist period are the only ones discussed in this thesis. China is a vast country with long history. The vastness of the subject chronologically and regionally makes it difficult to focus on all the time periods. In addition, the current lifestyle of national minorities is not reflected in enough detail. Since the reforms and the open-door policy, China has been changing rapidly. Because this study focussed on the period up to 1996, recent changes in the educational circumstances of national minorities need to be subject of further study.

1.7 Research Method

This research claims that national minority groups' education is cross-cultural education. As such, cross-cultural issues should permeate all education. These relate to the history, traditions, languages, religions as well as the politics and economy of all the groups

concerned. Therefore, this field of study can also be described as a "cross-subject" study. This research also asserts that pedagogy is not a hard science like physics or mathematics but changes its character according to its location. In other words, a pedagogy found in Tibet, for example, cannot be simply transferred to Xinjiang, with the expectation that it will be appropriate or effective, because these two areas are different in every way apart from being under the same government's regime.

As the educational process is cross-disciplinary in the sense that it combines natural and social science perspectives, it has been necessary to try to look at the educational policies in China in a holistic perspective. The basic methods used in this study are historical overviews and survey research and the main instrument for data collection is the interview. This is first of all because current Chinese policies are closely related to their historical background and this study tries to identify educational changes (especially in the higher educational system) step by step and define these changes at the level of the implementation of Chinese policies toward the national minorities. It also relates these changes to the economic and political situation of the national minorities in China. The historical material can be found mainly in Chapters Two to Four.

In relation to the data collection methods that were used in this research, Scott (1995) claims that survey researchers likewise draw conclusions about human activity by using pre-set standardised methods to make inferences about large populations from small carefully controlled samples. Hammersley (1992) describes Guba and Lincoln's criteria about the effectiveness of research as residing in its representational value; applicability; consistency and neutrality. Therefore to choose one of the higher learning institutions for the national minorities, i.e. the Central University for the Nationalities (CUN) as a case study becomes essential, in order to provide detailed data about the features of Chinese policies towards national minorities.

The reasons for choosing the CUN as a specific case to study Chinese policies toward national minorities were:

- 1) The CUN is the oldest university among 13 institutions of higher learning for the national minorities in China. It was established in 1951, just two years after the PRC was founded. In the last 46 years of Chinese history it has experienced all the different policies formulated by the government towards the national minorities.
- 2) This is the only university actually representing all the 55 different national minorities in its teachers and students.
- 3) It is located in Beijing as is its immediate controller, the State Commission for the Nationalities' Affairs, a ministry of the government. Therefore, there are strong links between the CUN and central government.

The reason for choosing interviews as the principal method of data collection is because interviews can allow the researcher access to both past and distant events. (Burgess, 1984) This issue is discussed in more detail in Chapters Five and Six. The data was compiled and examined in accordance with the development stages of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) since 1922, one year after it was established. Within this thesis those primary sources considered essential to the research undertaken included interviews, questionnaire and official government documents. Also, primary and secondary sources available outside China have been most helpful.

1.8 Organisation of the Thesis

The organisation of the thesis is as follows:

Part One, Chapters One to Four, provides a review of the theoretical framework on which the dissertation is based.

Chapter One is the Introduction, which states the purpose of the study, research problem, research question, methods of the research and the limitations of the study. It provides general background information about the national minorities in China, together with the

attitude of the Han Chinese majority towards the minority groups. "Middle Kingdom" theory is first mentioned.

Chapter Two discusses how a state responds to a multicultural society and what educational consequences follow. The major types of policies towards national minorities or oppressed nations are discussed using the work of Simpson and Yinger (1972), i.e. assimilation (both forced and persuasive), pluralism, population transfer, subjugation and extermination.

Chapter Three adopts a narrower focus and examines national minority issues in China. It reviews Chinese policies toward national minorities before and after 1949 in general, and looks at the consequences in the educational field. The CCP relied on "patriotism", united the whole nation including the different national minority groups and won the civil war in 1949. Yet, patriotism in Communist China is a code word. As the CCP is growing stronger, it seems that fewer and fewer promises made to national minorities during war time are being put into practice. Chapter Three examines the changes.

Chapter Four reveals the structure of the Chinese higher educational system and the Central University for the Nationalities (CUN) comes into the picture. The guiding principles, the management structure and present policy within the university are briefly introduced. The highly centralised educational system is discussed and the frame within which the role of the Chinese higher education is located is studied.

Part Two, Chapters Five and Six, is devoted to the field study in the Central University for Nationalities in Beijing.

Chapter Five examines the first pilot study, which took place between April and May 1996. The aim of the first pilot study was to find out if the testing apparatus, data collecting method and planned sample frame would serve the purpose of the study.

Chapter Six discusses the main field study, which took place in the summer of 1997.

Together with Chapter Five, this chapter examines the primary data collected from the teachers, students and their parents, graduates and administrators of the CUN. Their general opinions towards the government's national minority policy are carefully displayed and analysed.

The third part of the thesis is chapters Seven and Eight. Chapter Seven considers the results and findings of the fieldwork, relates them to the conceptual framework of the study, and carries out a further discussion about the relationship between cross-cultural education and the main elements that affect national minorities' education in China. In Chapter Eight the thesis draws its main conclusions, viz, the enduring feature of Chinese policies towards national minorities appears to still be assimilation.

CHAPTER TWO

MULTICULTURAL STATES AND EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES

2.1 Introduction

"Cultural diversity and political uniformity" has drawn the attention of educationists for a long time. Nicholas Hans is known as "one of many of the pioneers of comparative education who were fascinated by a dilemma with a long history and which today has taken on new dimension." (Holmes, 1980.p.1) According to Hans' theory, in an "ideal nation", its entire people would speak the same language, believe in the same religion, belong to the same race and live in a well-defined territory. If any one of these unifying factors, language, religion and race is absent, it does not necessarily endanger a national culture, but he was well aware that problems of educational policy would be created by such multiculturalism.

Historically, multicultural states are the complex products of conquest, political agreement and economic necessity, as well as a result of the growth of nationalism and imperialistic conquests. (Num, 1989) This chapter, together with the next one, is mainly concerned with the issue of multicultural society, the issue of state responses to a multicultural society and its educational consequences, in order to provide a theoretical background for this study.

China is a country formed by at least 56 different nationalities. Chinese policies towards its national minorities are generally regarded as a result of combinations of "Communism"--Marxism and Leninism, and classic Chinese philosophy. Therefore, first in this chapter will be an analysis of non-Chinese theories, which includes both Communist and non-Communist, related to nationalism, states response to a multicultural

society (with special emphasis on assimilation), their educational consequences and the role of education. The brief reviews of the literature in this chapter are intended to provide a global background in order to reflect, (as well as give a clearer understanding of) the formulation of Chinese policies towards its national minority groups.

The main sections of this chapter are therefore organised as follows:

- 2.1. Introduction
- 2.2. Concept of Nationalism
- 2.3. State Responses to Multicultural Society
- 2.4. Educational Consequences
- 2.5. Role of Education in the Social Change

2.2 Concept of Nationalism

Kohn argues that prior to the 18th century people were loyal to various forms of "social authority, political organisation and ideological cohesion such as the tribe or clan, the city-state or the feudal lord, the dynastic state, the church or religious group." (Kohn, 1965, p.9) Only since the French Revolution have national minorities demanded that each nationality should form a nation state, which should include the whole nationality. Since then, nationalism had become manifest and dominated the impulses and attitudes of many politicians. It also served as the justification for the authority of the state and legitimisation of its use of force. This modern nationalism has been referred to as "the social movements, attitudes and ideologies which characterised by the behaviour of nationalities, engaged in the struggle to achieve, maintain or enhance their position in the world" (Wirth, 1964, p.264)

Hans Kohn, who interpreted world history from the viewpoint of the development and implications of nationalism, identified nationalist distinctiveness as follows:

The age of nationalism represents the first period of universal history. What proceeded was the long era of separate civilisations and continents among which little, if any, intercourse or contact existed... Nationalism arising in the 18th century in Western Europe has spread into the farthest corners of the earth. Wherever it has gone, it has shaped human thought and society according to its image.

(Kohn, 1944, p.vii)

He also claims that the classical origins of nationalism are based on common cultural traditions, such as a single language or closely related dialects, a heritage of customs, a territorial unit, institutional solidarity, or religion. Although these seemingly objective factors are of great importance for the formation of nationalities, perhaps the most essential elements are a more subjective will and purpose. It is not only the will to live together but also the desire to have a government.

Karl Marx had earlier tried to theorise about national minority problems which had begun to surface. He based his worldview on the materialist conception of history, in which the human historical process showed a revolutionary pattern of development through opposition and conflict, also known as "dialectical materialism". Marx considered that the wheels that turn human history were material productive forces (rather than abstract notions, such as nationalism) and social-economic classes (rather than nations), although he was very much aware of religion and nationalism. According to Marx, nationalism is mainly a tool of the bourgeoisie for disguising their class interests as the interest of the entire society and for perpetuating their own rule. It dampens class differences within each nation and encourages tensions with the proletariat of other nations. However, he claimed even the nation, eventually, will vanish. (Nam, 1989) As Marx and Engels stated in the "The Communist Manifesto"

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to, the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the world.

National differences and antagonisms between people are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in condition of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster.

(Marx and Engels, 1967, p102)

Since Marx did not suggest that all nations and nationalities would disappear completely from the earth, the "Manifesto" probably could be interpreted as "cultural identity could survive for a longer period than other distinctions, such as sharp economic and social differences, political rivalries and exploitation of one nation by another." (Bloom, 1941, p.26) Marx also declared the existence of "a right of self-determination". Although this theory was not precisely defined, at least two different interpretations of Marx's phrase are possible: the right to total independence; and the right to some degree of autonomy within the larger nation. (Dreyer, 1976)

The Chinese Communist Party believes that Lenin enriched and developed Marxism through the practising Communist movement and by achieving great success in a country-Russia. According to Lenin, "national self-determination" had a solid meaning in that the oppressed nationalities have the right to secede. To have the right to secede did not mean that this was necessary or desirable. Lenin only considered support for the program of "national self-determination" when it helped to carry on the proletarian class struggle and socialism. His Party retained the right to decide in which case the secession was or wasn't approved, in the interest of socialism. (Low, 1958)

However, Lenin did not approve of Stalin's attitude towards the Russian reunification process. He perceived the Russian army's intervention in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Ukraine between 1920-1921 as "Great Russian chauvinism". He privately blamed the extreme Great Russian nationalism of Communist officials for causing the conflict between Georgia and Great Russian Communists, and sent a note to his colleagues: "I

declare war on Great Russian chauvinism; a war not for life but for death." (Pipes, 1964 p.272)

Although Lenin and Stalin agreed with the principle of a nationalities' right to secession publicly, there were obvious differences between them on handling oppressed nationalities' affairs. Stalin was, in theory, more liberal but adopted a more Great Russian chauvinistic attitude than Lenin regarding assimilation of nationalities. For instance, Stalin promoted his goal of a "single universal language in the period of and dying away of all other languages. I have little faith in this theory of a single, all-embracing language." (Stalin, 1942. p.196) Stalin's words quoted in 1925, became reality between 1929 and 1953. The Russian language was emphasised, and Cyrillic among those non-Russians languages replaced the Latin alphabet. Stalin also used military force, (for example, against the Crimean Tatars), rather than persuasion and compromise in order to integrate certain areas where non-Russian people lived. Lenin considered this a failure of Communist policy towards the national minorities and most of his blame was directed towards Stalin: "...I think that here a fatal role was played by the hastiness and administrative passions of Stalin and also by his anger at the notorious 'social nationalism'. Anger in general plays in politics the worse possible role" (Pipes, 1964 p.284).

Marx's, Lenin's and Stalin's ideas and practices about nationalism gave the Chinese Communist Party the basis for its own theories and practice of dealing with national minority problems. Connor pointed out:

Nationalism has proven to be a much more powerful force than Marxism. When Communism and nationalism have wedded in the popular mind, Communist movements have found broad acceptance. When Communism and nationalism have been perceived as at odds, such movements have tended to be spurned.

(Connor, 1984, p584)

As Connor stated, Communism and nationalism have their ideological incompatibility among the Chinese.

As modern nationalism is about the movements, attitudes and ideologies, which characterised by the behaviour of nationalities (page 28), it is essential to see how a state, i.e. a dominant nationality, would response to a multicultural society.

2.3 State Response to Multicultural Society

According to Simpson and Yinger, broadly speaking, the major types of policies developed by the dominant groups in a multicultural state can be classified as assimilation (which can be forced or persuasive); pluralism; population transfer (including peaceful transfer or forced migration); continued subjugation; and finally extermination. (Simpson and Yinger, 1972) These are helpful categories and as such, each is discussed in more detail.

2.3.1 Assimilation

In assimilation, the dominant groups try to reduce the cultural differences between themselves and other groups, who are national, religious and/or linguistic minorities within the country, by forcing or persuading them into the main stream of national life. The most extreme manifestations of forced assimilation can be found in the policy of the Nazi regime, which being based on the policy of racial superiority, attempted to stop the minorities from practising their own religion, speaking their own language and following their own traditional customs. As an extreme method of assimilation, they adopted the policies of forced population transfers and extermination. Persuasive assimilation, on the other hand, is like a "melting-pot" policy, which is conducted peacefully, runs over the long term and has been widely used as a major policy in the states like the USA, UK and France.

According to Milton Yinger, the extent of assimilation in a given setting is a function of the strength of four independent sub-processes: acculturation (cultural), identification (psychological), integration (structural), and amalgamation (biological). (Yinger, 1981)

Acculturation is the process of change toward greater cultural similarity brought about by contact between two or more groups . It normally happens among the smaller or weaker national groups, or some groups who join into a culturally entirely different society. The migrations to the USA are regarded a good example. It happens peacefully. The whole process can go a very long way down the road to assimilation without the group lines being erased. (Yinger, 1981) However, Berry (1997) claims that acculturation among the indigenous people can be different compared to immigration or asylum seekers. Indigenous or aboriginal people demonstrated very clearly that assimilation is not the only, or inevitable outcome of acculturation, although during acculturation, indigenous people have typically been subjected to contradictory policies of segregation and assimilation. Berry analysed that reservation, homelands and other areas were often set-aside for the exclusive use of indigenous people. At the meantime, missionary groups, school-teachers and government officials came to dominate their day-to-day lives in attempts to alter their beliefs, value and behaviours. The most common result of these policies was assimilation, which made the indigenous people become deculturated, losing essential features of their heritage (language, identity and survival skills). Through segregation, indigenous people were kept from full participation in the larger society, not acquiring the values or skills necessary to live successfully there

Identification means "a set of related aspects of assimilation". Individuals from separate groups might consider themselves as part of this new society in which is blended their original culture and tradition. "Shifts in identification... with members of group A identifying themselves with society B, or members of group B identifying with society A". Taking America as an example again, American Indians always consider themselves as "Native American". In the past, there were a few White people, who migrated to North America, perhaps married the American Indians, or simply just lived among them, and

began to identify themselves as one of those "Native American". In a different case, there are millions of people from all over the world who have immigrated to America, and identify themselves as neither American Indians nor White, but with a new society which is a result of interaction among people with many different cultures. "All these psychological self-identification processes might go on at the same time, and the nature of the mixture tell us a great deal about the situation in which they occur." (Yinger, 1981.p.252)

Integration is meant to be the process of structural assimilation of persons from two or more formerly separate sub-societies into a set of shared interactions. These interactions can happen in various situations, including the possible impersonal contacts within economic and political surroundings, and direct personal contacts between married couples, neighbours and friends. (Williams, 1977).

Amalgamation usually takes place when the national groups are biologically less distinct from each other. In other words, national groups which are distinguishable by appearances (the colour of the hair, or skin), or genealogy as separate in inheritance are less likely, (if the other things are equal,) to be psychologically, culturally, or structurally assimilated. In some circumstances, amalgamation very much depends on the individual's option. Someone might have one English grandparent with the remaining three being non-English, but still considers himself (and is also accepted by others) as English; while someone else who might have three English grand parents and one non-English, may prefer to identify himself as non-English. Yinger (1981) concluded that the strength of the tendency toward assimilation is dependent in particular on a range of historical, cultural, demographic, institutional and attitudinal factors:

- Comparative size of the groups involved;
- Nature of the initial contacts between the groups;
- Recency of the contacts;
- Geographical concentration or dispersion of the various groups;
- Degree of cultural similarity or dissimilarity, especially in language and religion;
- Degree of racial similarity or dissimilarity;

- Degree to which the economy is open and expanding;
- Levels of discrimination and prejudice;
- Legal and political status of the groups. (Are some temporary residents or otherwise lacking the full rights of citizens? Are political balances shifting?)

(Yinger, 1981 p.256)

The factors that the assimilation process heavily depends on do not work individually. They are very much related to each other. Normally the more factors at work the faster the assimilation process takes place.

The process of assimilation, whether it is cultural or structural, whether it is psychological or biological, generally occurs with strong power. Sometime it can travel a very long journey and eventually the smaller or weaker cultural groups meet the main stream of the society. However, the process is not just a simple one-way process, it is reversible. (Yinger, 1981) Certain national groups can become more dissimilar on some occasions. Their identities, languages and cultural traditions can be consciously brought back if they realise that their cultures are dying away. What Yinger calls dissimulation often occurs in the case of forced assimilation. The cultural education among the Jewish communities is a good example of this.

How will above theories help to understand the policy in China? Special attention will be given to the assimilation and dissimulation cases which are observed in China in the following chapter-Chapter Three.

2.3.2 Pluralism

Pluralism is when the minority groups do not wish to be assimilated or to lose their own national identity but they are willing to be part of the state. They want to peacefully exist side by side with the majority and other minority groups. This means that it is no longer a majority-minority society but one which is culturally differentiated. The majority group has to accept the differences in the same society and allow the mutual exchange of

culture, which includes basic political and economic unity as well as the toleration of linguistic, religious and cultural diversity. The UN Declaration on World Peace of October 7, 1943 stated:

National governments and international organisations must respect and guarantee the rights of national, religious, and cultural minorities to economic livelihood, to equal opportunity for educational and cultural development, and to political equality.

(Wirth, 1964, p264)

Oscar Janowsky argues that multicultural states should consider pluralism to reduce dissent. He took former East-central Europe as an example to assist his argument. Others have argued that Switzerland is often considered as an outstanding example of pluralism. (Nam, 1989)

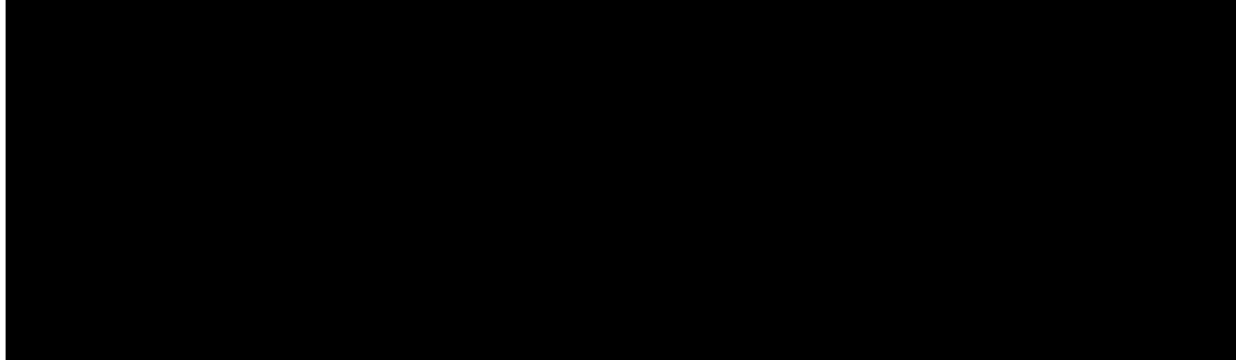
Apart from assimilation and pluralism, population transfer is also regarded as one of the major policies implemented by the dominant groups in the multicultural societies.

2.3.3 Population Transfer

There are two types of national minority population transfer: peaceful transfer and transfer by force. (Simpson and Yinger, 1972) Peaceful transfer refers to the voluntary migration of people. China is regarded as a typical example of peaceful population transfer. Over a long period of history, the governments have constantly transferred Han (Chinese majority) to non-Han areas in order to expand Han influence and assimilate the other national minority groups. (Table 2.1. and Table 2.2 give data to demonstrate this fact.)

Table 2.1. Population growth of the major nationalities in Xinjiang between 1949-84

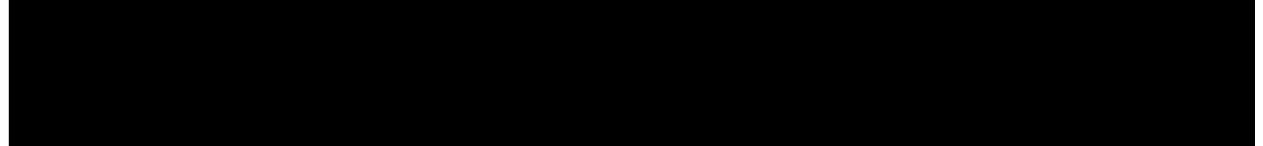
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(Source: Almanac of China's Population, 1985, p579)

Table 2.2. Population of Han and Mongolian in Inner-Mongolia 1947-1989

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A large black rectangular box redacting the content of Table 2.2.

(Source: Chaliand. 1989, p94)

Table 2.1 clearly shows that in 1949, the Uyghurs with 75.95% of the total population were the major national minority group but by 1984 had declined to 45.94%. However, the Han increased over 5 million from 6.71% to 39.77% in just 35 years. This dramatic changes in the population has changed the whole pattern of Xinjiang culturally.

Forced transfer refers to when the national minority groups are urged to leave by force. As Simpson and Yinger described:

Many nations and cities drove out Jews in the late medieval period; the United States drove the Indians out of area after area; the British kept the Irish beyond the Pale; the Soviet Union deported millions of her citizens, members of religious and national minorities during World War II; and Nazi Germany followed a relentless policy, aimed at a homogeneous nation, by forcibly transferring large numbers of persons of many minorities.

(Simpson and Yinger, 1972, p.22)

The policy of peacefully transferring the population is perhaps the most effective way to solve, or to reduce certain national minority problems, especially in a modern world. More details on population transfer and its consequences are discussed in Chapters Three and Seven, with special reference to China.

2.3.4 Subjugation

With regard to the policy of subjugation, the USA and South Africa were often taken as the examples in the past. This was because the dominant groups (White) did not want the black people to be there. However, the social position of the black people was as subservient. Black people were exploited by the white.

Of course, the situations are different now in both the USA and South Africa. Subjugation is no longer regarded as a major policy implemented by the dominant group in a multicultural society in today's world.

2.3.5 Extermination

Extermination is the most extreme policy. Here are just two examples of physical destruction in modern history: six million Jews were murdered by the Nazis between 1933 and 1945, and two-thirds of American Indians were destroyed before the USA policy changed. What happened in Bosnia a few years ago and in Kosova within the last few years, can be identified as almost the same as Nazi German policy during the Second World War.

Assimilation, pluralism, population transfer, subjugation and extermination are the major policies developed by the dominant groups in different states along different period of history. Simpson and Yinger concluded:

These policies of dominant groups are not mutually exclusive; many may

be practised simultaneously. Some are conscious long-run plans; some are ad hoc adjustments to specific situations; some are the by-products (perhaps unintended) of other policies. In some instances they are the official actions of majority-group leaders; in others they are the day-by-day responses of individual members of the dominant group.

(Simpson and Yinger, 1972, p23-24)

Under a certain main policy, consequently, educational policy will follow the same manner. Equally, through educational policy, it is possible to find out the main policy. This chapter therefore, moves to the next section and tries to discuss the educational consequences of major national policies towards national minorities or oppressed groups.

2.4 Educational Consequences

In the 19th century, the dominant groups were faced with questions of policy with regard to minority groups. The dominant groups tried various policies at various times and places toward external minorities (the colonies) and internal minorities (those within the mother country). Traditionally, educational policies represent the "outcome of battles and conflicts of long ago and were formulated and implemented as a consequence of consensus or imposition." (Holmes, 1980.p.1)

Article 26 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 states:

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedom. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

The UN's Declaration played an important role during the post war period, especially for the oppressed nations. However, it is still up to the individual country's government to implement it as it stated and different countries adopted the Declaration with different policies.

According to Holmes (1980), there are roughly three types of educational policy solution to the dilemma of a multicultural society. First, policy may be directed to promote cultural differences, which can be understood as either "separate and unequal" (such as policies implemented in the USA between 1896-1954), or "separate but equal" (USA after 1954). The second one is known as assimilation, which refers to the fact that the majority try to reduce cultural differences by drawing national, religious and linguistic minorities into the main stream of national life. The third one is about the majority group adopting a laissez-faire attitude. All the schools have the freedom to decide what and how to teach.

More valuable perhaps, is to follow the theories developed by Simpson and Yinger and look at the educational consequences from the major types of state's policies towards oppressed nationalities that they have drawn up and which were discussed earlier in this chapter. First, assimilation.

Assimilation has been recognised as forced or persuasive. The aim of assimilation is to reduce the cultural differences (including language, religion and national tradition) between the dominant group and other groups in the same society, and eventually the oppressed national groups can be forced or persuaded into the main stream of national life. One example of forced assimilation is in France after the Revolution. The French government suppressed dialects and regional language education in order to have cultural differences suppressed. In persuasive cases, the USA is a good example. Immigrants in the USA come from all over the world with different cultural background. However, most of the time their original national identities (languages, religions and customs) were

taught only within their communities, especially to the second or third generations, otherwise, the education they normally had was no different from the main stream--American. Banks described the assimilationist ideology in America:

The assimilationist believes that ethnicity is more important in developing societies than in highly modernised societies and that it crumbles under the forces of modernisation and democratisation. The assimilationist also views ethnicity as a force that is inimical to the goals of a democratic society. The assimilationist believes that curriculum materials and teaching styles should relate primarily to the common culture. Emphasis should be on our common civilisation, since All-American citizens must learn to participate in a common culture that requires universal skills and competencies.

(Bank, 1981, p53)

German immigrants in St Louis had the preference to use German as the medium of instruction in schools. They tried it, but it was strongly resisted. (Holmes,1980) Educational policy in the former Soviet Union was meant to provide freedom for parents to chose any school in an area of many languages and religions. But the government also prohibited religious schools or the promotion of religion in state schools, which meant that parents still didn't have the right to chose.

The second type of policy is cultural pluralism. In pluralism theory, ideally, in a multicultural society, contributions to the common civilisation by each national group are recognised, and different languages, religions, as well as traditional customs are equally respected and encouraged. It is a common concern under pluralism as to how to provide equal educational opportunity for children from different national backgrounds and enable them to realise personal goals and contribute to community life. Education for a plural society includes intercultural, bilingual and multicultural dimensions. (Pusch, 1979) An example of this is Canada. Canada is a officially bilingual country. The French in Quebec have been enjoying the right to retain their language and religion through their

educational system. Belgium is another example where bilingual education policy has been genuinely implemented. (Holmes, 1980) However, in both cases, these policies have not really reduced tensions but have merely disguised them for a time.

Under the policies of population transfer, especially peaceful transfer, oppressed national minorities easily end up being assimilated. China is as an example of this. In 1947, the Communist set up the autonomous region of Mongolia¹. At this time there were three Han (Chinese) for every Mongolian in the territory. Between 1949 and 1957, the central government systematically favoured Hans in jobs, organised Han colonisation by grants of equipment and foodstuffs and facilities for settlement in the grasslands of the pastoral population. By 1957, there were eight Han for every one Mongolian. Similar population transfers continued up to 1971, when there were fifteen Han for every Mongolian in the Mongolian Autonomous Region. Today the population of Mongolians in the region is about five percent of the total. (See **Table 2.2**) "The past of Mongolia is the present of Xinjiang and no doubt the future of Tibet." (Chaliand, 1989, p.94) For a nation to only occupy 5% of the total population in their own land raises questions of how much chance it has to maintain its own national identity, or carry on its national education? **Table 2.3.** and **Table 2.4** indicate the educational consequences of the population transfer policy.

Table 2.3. The compositions of students and teachers in Yianbian University

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(Source: Lee, 1986)

¹ China has 116 autonomous areas, which are 5 autonomous regions, 31 autonomous prefectures and 80 autonomous counties. Chinese law states, on the one hand, that the autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the PRC and on the other hand, that the special characteristics and needs of the autonomous area must be served by giving them greater power in administering their own affair.

Table 2.4. Han and non-Han students at higher learning institution in Xinjiang

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



(Source: XEC: 1949,1980 and 1987)

Finally, it is important to look at educational policy under subjugation. A good example is South Africa before the new government. The policy was to encourage the use of mother tongues as the medium of instruction in schools whilst maintaining racial segregation. This policy was interpreted as "separate and unequal" provision for the non-European groups in the country, similarly with the policies towards Negro education in USA between 1896 and 1954. (Holmes, 1980) Therefore, there is hardly a chance to gain an equal education under a subjugation policy.

These various national policies will obviously depend on individual political circumstances and debate. "Changes in the cultural composition of national societies and the political influence minority groups can exert on national governments will determine the extent to which, on the basis of the different criteria of diversity, the latter are prepared to allow schools to promote rather than suppress differences."(Holmes, 1980 p6)

The ideal of equality influences the demands of national minorities and the responses of government. Rhetoric suggests that the school should and can reduce social inequalities. Therefore, it seems essential to look at the role of education, which is the concerns of the following section. (Holmes, 1980)

2.5 Role of Education in the Social Change

2.5.1 Role of Education in General

There are two major views about the role of education in the social change process, i.e. proactive and reactive. Proactive theories contend that the role of education can be instrumental in bringing about wider social changes, therefore education can be a change agent. Opposite to this are the reactive theories, which believe that educational changes are at best mere reflections of social changes, and normally education performs the function of reproducing the existing social order and structure. Therefore, the attempts to reform the educational systems are doomed to fail, unless wider social changes are taking place in the first place.

A key British study in relation to this was by Peter Mortimer and his colleagues (Mortimer, 1988). This study adopts a pro-active view of the role of education. Its theoretical framework is structural functionalism and its principle argument is that wider social change (such as reduction of social inequalities through effective schools) can be achieved through deliberate policies and practices in implementing educational changes. This study also points to the political implications (intended or unintended) of any major educational change. However, the inherent assumption of a causal link that reduced inequality in school performance will lead to greater social and occupational equality is vulnerable to attacks from the conflict paradigm camp.

Proceeding from an evolutionary orientation, the modernisation model offered by Inkeles and Smith (1974) is also on the proactive side. Two general comments could be made on this model. First, the model is valid in pointing out the role of values and attitudes in affecting people's behaviour and thereby their response to and fashioning of social change. (Webster, 1990) The model claims that formal schooling does play an important role in changing people's values and attitudes. This proposition can run into serious

conceptual and operational problems in an educational system attempting to modernise, because the process of modernisation does not have to start with a radical break-away from the past tradition.

The social reproduction theory as demonstrated by Bowles (1971) is clearly a reactive approach. First of all, he believes that the process of schooling is not only a cognitive process, but also a socialising process. Secondly, he points out that the importance of the family as a major variable contributing to the outcome of the educational process. Carnoy (1974) also takes a reactive view of the role of education. Further to Bowles (1971), Carnoy points to socio-economic conditions (the social relations of production) as major variables determining the fate of educational reforms. His theory regards these external factors, the family and the general social-economic conditions, as highly important environmental variables having great impact on the process and outcome of educational change.

Freire and Illich advance somewhat extreme views on the role of education in general and formal schooling in particular. To Illich (1970), formal schooling is not the entirety of the life-long educational process. As the school is the institution characterised by "age specific, teacher-related process requiring full-time attendance at an obligatory curriculum" (1970), the teacher plays an oppressive role as the custodian, the moralist and the therapist. Formal schooling, with its elaborate planning and manipulation of individuals personal cognitive growth, is against human nature, therefore, it is an oppressive institution.

Illich's argument explains why the Chinese government has to make education in China highly centralised. The Chinese are taught that there are two ways for a human being to obtain knowledge. One is through the literature, which is usually introduced by the teacher in the classroom, and the other one is through individual personal experience. Of these two accesses, the literature should be the dominant one as theory always guides practice. (Teng, 1996)

Freire's (1972) view about the role of education is that to educate people is not just about teaching them to read and write, but empowering them with a kind of outlook and critical ability so that they become able to express their desires and eventually take action about them. So education is not neutral, and it is either for domestication (to facilitate the integration of the young into accepting the logic of present systems and becoming complacent with them) or for liberation. The dominant education system, according to Freire, is an instrument which is used by the ruling elite to domesticate the dispossessed. Wherever this is the case, the "culture of silence" prevails. The oppressed are not only culturally ignorant, but also politically deprived in the "culture of silence". Freire also believes that it is impossible to transform the educated, to come to a new awareness of self, develop a new sense of dignity, and be inspired by new hope. If this is achieved, however, the poor will embark on their new vocation of acting upon and transforming the world. (Freire, 1972)

Freire's view is valuable to help to understand why the national minorities in China must have their formal education. To national minorities, education is not just about having ability of read and write. More importantly, education is a process of empowerment.

2.5.2 Role of Higher Education

Yang, Ling and Su (1987) specially emphasised the important role of higher education. According to their view, the main task of higher education is not simply to raise the general knowledge level or train the ordinary labourers. It is required to develop much more professional personnel for the developing society. This is one of the main features of higher education. In addition, they have experienced primary and middle school education and accumulated certain knowledge and some ideas about society, but those ideas are not necessarily totally mature. Therefore, higher education can be very important for improving personalities. These two further fundamental aspects of higher education are:

1) Higher education responds to the demands of the social political and economic system.

Whatever the social system, feudalism, capitalism or socialism, higher education graduates mostly serve the ruling class, becoming rulers, agents or officers of the government. That is why the ruling class always pays more attention to higher education and tries to force higher education to adapt to the demands of the political and economic system.

This issue has become more critical since 1945. World War Two marked a important turning point in world history. Countries dominated for years by their colonial masters began the struggle to achieve the fully independent status of nationhood. The oppressed pre-war colonies became the developing nations of the "Third World" in the 1950s and 1960s. One of the most urgent needs in such countries was for an educational system which could produce high level professionals like politicians, economists, doctors, lawyers, engineers and managers in order to control and direct national development.

Looking back in history, in ancient China, higher educational institutions were set up in official residences. Officials were the teachers and the students mainly came from upper class families and what they learned generally was how to become rulers. Similarly, Oxford and Cambridge University were established in the 12th and 13th centuries. Both of them were upper class universities controlled by the church and later by central governments. Their teaching substance was literature, law, medicine and theology. The purpose of education was to develop officials and priests. Most of the Prime Ministers and many ministers in Britain studied in one of these universities. This gave rise to the term "the cradle of the politician". In the 19th century, European system adapted the ²Chinese Mandarin system.

2) Higher education reflects the development of science and technology within a society.

² Mandarin (in the Chinese Empire) referred to a member of a senior grade of the bureaucracy, who received higher education and special training. In European system, it refers to a high-ranking official whose powers are extensive and thought to be outside political control; or a person of standing and influence, as in literary or intellectual circles.

Since the Industrial Revolution, new technologies have been used extensively in manufacturing industry, for example, the invention of the steam engine. It was a catalyst that made higher professional training leap forward across the whole of Europe. Especially since the Second World War, modern science and technology have developed quickly. A range of new techniques atomic energy, IT, space flight and lasers have been introduced into production. Many new industrial sectors came into being, which meant a new breed of professional workers was urgently required. This made higher education, in both advanced and developing countries, enter a new flourishing period. College student numbers grew quickly, educational funds increased rapidly, and the structure of higher education became more complex. As well as universities providing literature, arts, science, engineering, agriculture, medical and management studies courses, many new academic institutes and technical colleges were established. In addition, part-time courses and adult education grew in popularity. All these achievements in higher education were a partial result of new developments in science and technology.

3) Higher education and research.

A university is not only regarded as a teaching centre but also, perhaps more importantly, as a centre for academic research. The area of research is no longer limited within one country. International educational exchanges have become an essential part of higher education and development.

No matter whether from the proactive or reactive point of view, education, to ordinary people, is generally viewed as an empowerment tool. Getting a good education is a way of gaining higher social status and improving one's own life style. Children need to be taught the values that will bring them success in their lives. They need to understand and internalise both cultural values and symbols linked to motivation, action and achievement. If the members of national minority groups (or oppressed nations) have the desire to achieve real equality in a multi-nation society, they have to empower themselves through education. They will then possess the abilities to compete and to achieve.

The role of education therefore, can be concluded as follows: education can be a change

agent, because education can bring wider social changes. On the other hand, educational changes are, at best, mere reflections of social changes. To study if the major social changes have been taken place, education will be one of the main areas to focus on. For instance, the change of educational policy towards national minorities reflects the change of the major policy of the government.

2.6 Conclusion

China, like most other states in the world, is a multicultural country. To help us to understand the features of Chinese policy towards its national minorities, this chapter utilising Simpson and Yinger's theories, briefly reviewed the main types of policies formed by the dominant groups in different states as well as the educational consequences of these policies. Assimilation is considered a major issue. A multicultural nation is the result of nationalism and/or imperialistic conquest. In the past, more violent and forced solutions were used frequently by the dominant groups to deal with national minority problems. However it seems to be more civilised in other countries' eyes if the dominant groups can adopt a more persuasive and less obvious way to extend their power and control over oppressed nations. Assimilation therefore, is seen as a more effective process with a longer term (a few generations perhaps) and it also causes less conflict. Governments have therefore considered it a major type of policy to implement. Alternatively, some governments implement a policy of pluralism, (the growing attitude in the developing world,) in which case the dominant groups have to cease their efforts to remain dominant. This is probably too much to ask of a Communist country like China, where Communism and nationalism have their ideological incompatibility (more detailed discussion on this will be carried out in Chapter Three). In addition, it believes (through Marxism) that the proletariat should be dominant, should lead the people, erase national differences and unify the whole world into Communism. Here, of course, the dominant proletariat is interpreted as the Han Chinese themselves by the Chinese Communist government.

Education, during a process of social change, plays both a pro-active and reactive role, which means education does not only reflect the social changes but also itself helps bring about wider social change. If we follow the reactive theories, through an educational institution, we should be able to see the existing social order and structure, (i.e. the government's policy) and should be able to understand the way of reproducing existing social order and structures through educational practice. But on the other hand, if we follow the proactive theories, i.e. believing that education performs the role of a changing agent in a social process, the educational institution then can be used by both governments and individuals. The government's aim is to actualise their targets-assimilation, for instance. Meanwhile the individuals wish to bring some changes to their social status, further to achieve their goals-equality, for example.

The theoretical research concerning the role of education leads this study to look at an educational institution as a case study. Therefore the Central University for the Nationalities (CUN) in Beijing has been specially selected to fulfil this function. Discussions related to the role of education will be continued in Chapter Four, where the CUN is introduced. Before going to the case study, however, Chapter Three will continue the discussion regarding the main issues of state responses to a multicultural society and the educational consequences in a particular country--China.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CHINESE CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM AND ITS EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES

3.1 Introduction

The discussion in the last chapter was about the great diversity of international experiences related to a state's response to its multicultural society and how its policies affect the education system. The concepts of nationalism, assimilation discussed by various scholars, especially by Simpson, Yinger and Holmes were relevant to the concepts of national minorities in China and so to this thesis. Attention is now drawn to the situation in China, a quarter of the world population. As has been mentioned earlier, Chinese policy towards its national minorities combines Communist theories developed by Marx and Lenin and classic Chinese philosophy--"Middle Kingdom" exclusionism. This chapter will concentrate on how this traditional Chinese concept, together with the Communist ideal have helped in the formulation of Chinese policies towards its national minorities over the years. It will also try to analyse the educational consequences under the "New China" policies. The aim of this chapter is thus to provide a theoretical background and organising framework to the study along with Chapter Two.

To do this, this chapter is divided into four sections. The first briefly reviews traditional Chinese concepts of nationalism and national minorities in order to provide a background to the formulation of the policies. In the second section, the different policies before 1949, when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came to power, are summarised. It spells out that the most popular policy ever put forward by the Han towards national minorities actually came from the CCP. Sadly, it turned out to be a promise only, i.e. a way of winning popularity among national minority groups and a way of gaining full

control of all the nationalities. This is examined in both section 3, where the policies immediately after 1949 are reviewed briefly and section 4, where the assimilation process which took place under the umbrella of modernisation (1979 on forwards) is examined.

In this chapter, a historical approach is used as discussed in Chapter One. From the development of traditional Chinese nationalism and the policies towards national minorities, it is not difficult to find out how national minorities have been gradually assimilated and are continuously being assimilated under the rule of the majority Han. The organisation of this chapter is therefore under following titles:

3.1. Introduction

3.2. The Chinese Concept of Nationalism and National Minorities

3.3. Policies towards National Minorities before 1949

3.4. Policies in the Years of Political Movements and Educational Consequencies

3.5. Policies in the Economic Reform Era

3.6. Conclusion

3.2 The Chinese Concept of Nationalism and National Minorities

3.2.1 Nationalism

The Chinese concept of nationalism over time has been transformed from the ancient Chinese belief in cultural universalism to the cultural and racial exclusionism of the Han dominated present. (Dikotter, 1990)

Traditional Chinese nationalism has been strongly influenced by the idea of the "Middle Kingdom", which was regarded as the only one real civilisation in the world. All other cultures were barbarian and were outside the real civilisation of the human race. The basis for this belief was rooted in the thoughts of great Chinese philosophers and their philosophical traditions. Among these traditions, Confucianism, Taoism and Legalism

were the most famous, being developed as early as the 5th through the 3rd century BC. Confucianism is about man in his social as well as political relationship, Taoism focuses on man's status in the larger cosmic space and Legalism concentrates on the state's administration. Traditional Chinese try to behave as Confucian in public and as Taoist in private. The one who is in government service will naturally be the Legalist. Most Westerners believe in antagonistic polarities, such as life and death, day and night, natural and supernatural. Quite opposite to this, traditional Chinese philosophers emphasised that the universe was a single integrated organism. There is no beginning or end for the universe, and all it has is three principle elements: Heaven, Earth and Man. The centre of the earth, of course, will be those who live in the "Middle Kingdom" with the longest history of human civilisation.

Chinese history is considered to start from the 25th century BC. (Qi, 1988) "Xia" is known as the first dynasty. The name of China i.e. "Zhong Guo" (Middle Kingdom) developed from "Hua Xia" (flourishing Xia) to "Zhong Yuan" (the centre of the plains). Chinese historians considered that "Hua Xia" was an area in which people were civilised.

They were decently dressed, not nude or half nude like the tribes around them, and they have both ceremonial and ordinary dress, not the same clothing for daily work and sacred services. They have a script, unlike the tribes that had not script or used incised sticks or knotted strings to record messages or events. They have an elaborate ceremony for the service of the diets, in contrast to the surrounding tribes, which supposedly had barbaric, primitive rituals. They have rules of moral behaviour, while the surrounding tribes supposedly 'know their mothers but not know their father'.

(Eberhard, 1982. p10)

The reason that the Chinese consider themselves as an unique nation among the rest of the modern world is because they have the oldest continuity of philosophy and culture in the world. The Chinese identity (i.e. Han) was created by the Han dynasty, 206 BC. to 221 AD, which had more advanced systems compared with their neighbour nations then. Since then the Chinese proudly call themselves "Han-ren" (Han people), which implies "the people of the great tradition", which is to distinguish themselves from the others, and

the country that the Han live in is the "Middle Kingdom". In this way, Han distinguish themselves from the Mongolian, Tibetans, Uyghur and other national minorities who are just Chinese in citizenship.

The "Middle Kingdom", dominated by the assumption of its cultural superiority, measured out-groups according to a yardstick by which those who did not follow the 'Han Chinese ways' were considered "barbarian". (Dikotter, 1990) "Middle Kingdom" exclusionism has long been a basic concept of the Chinese, such demonstrating their superiority over the other nationalities.

Chinese people started to be aware of modern Chinese nationalism only during the 19th century, right after the Opium War (1839-1842) between Britain and China, and the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Chinese people saw how a range of unequal treaties were signed after the War between the rotten Manchu Qing government and encroaching western powers. As a result of this, the whole country faced being divided by eight foreign imperialist countries. The Chinese saw it as economic exploitation by the European barbarians. At last, in 1911, under the leadership of Sun Yet-Sen, Kuomintang (KMT, i.e. National People's Party) launched the XinHai Revolution, which destroyed the Qing dynasty and ended thousands of years of "Yellow Rule" in China. The new China-- " Republic of China" was born. Sun Yet-Sen formulated the Three Principles (known as "San Min Zhu Yi" in Chinese): Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood. The concept of nationalism was couched in terms borrowed from the Japanese. "Min Zu Zhu Yi", from the Japanese "Minzokushugi", and exerted a lasting influence upon the political terminology of its Chinese students. It literally meant "racism", and expressed a nationalist vision based on a common race. The main concern for the nationalism in Sun Yet-Sen's policy was anti-imperialism. As Sun stated:

Many causes are responsible for the extinction of the national spirit of the Chinese people. The chief one is that we as a people were conquered by foreign power, and we had been brought up under that rule for several hundred years. When one nationality governs another nationality, the governing people always try to de-nationalise the governed in order to get rid of their spirit of independence.

(Hsu, 1933, p17)

By 1930, the real threat to the existence of new China came from Japan instead of Western Imperialism. Sun Yet-Sen's successor Chiang Kai-Shek, together with his National People's Party (KMT), fought against the Japanese for national independence from 1920. Chiang was known as a living symbol of national unity during the 1930s trying to form a Chinese country as opposed to a colony, subordinate to a foreign country. However, Chiang also had to fight against the Chinese Communists lead by Mao Ze-dong, who wanted to build a socialist China rather than a capitalist one, while Japanese aggression was getting stronger. Chiang mistakenly set his policy priority of "domestic integrity" over that of "fighting against foreign assault" when the Chinese Communists were busy conducting guerrilla warfare behind Japanese lines. Therefore, Chiang and his party gradually lost their popularity and the Communists won the massive support of the majority. In other words, the Chinese Communists succeeded in their revolution by fighting against colonialism and imperialism, armed with patriotic nationalism. (Nam, 1989) By the end of the Second World War, Chinese Communists made the Chinese people identify Communism with nationalism. As the Chinese specialist Lucian Bianco concluded: "In actual fact, Chinese Communism is first and foremost the triumphant assertion of Chinese nationalism. It is a nationalism of explosive vitality, as aggressive as it is vigorous, as often ill considered as profound. And this is as it must be." (Bell, 1967. p.166)

3.2.2 The Concept of National Minority

Like many minorities in Western countries, cultural differences rather than racial differences distinguish national minorities in China. In addition, the Han Chinese traditionally distinguish themselves from barbarians by cultural superiority. There are also similar external physical characteristics between the Han Chinese and other national minorities. They are differentiated from others by language, religion, custom and social habits rather than by physical difference, such as colour of skin, eyes or hair. (Eberhard,

1982)

A theory of "Yong Xia Bian Yi" ("using the Chinese ways to transform the barbarian") was introduced and had been strongly advocated by the Chinese in the 19th century. It was believed that the barbarian could be culturally assimilated, so called "Lai Hua", ("come and be transformed"), or "Han Hua" ("be assimilated into Chinese"). In the Age of Great Peace, the barbarians would flow in and be transformed: the world would be one. Of course, the people in the west (present Tibet and Xinjiang), naturally refused to be culturally assimilated. They failed to turn into Chinese. (Dikotter, 1990)

The Han Chinese describe their national minority groups as Zu (lineage) rather than as different races. Zu in Chinese is equal to nationality. If we follow the term Zu, all Chinese should belong to the "Mongol race". Within that "Mongol race", we would find people who are not citizens of China, for instance, Japanese, Korean and many Southeast Asians, and people who are subjects of China but linguistically and culturally different from the Chinese, such as Tibetans, Mongols, Manchus, Uyghur, Kazak, or the tribes of Taiwan. (Nam, 1989)

When the Chinese refer to a specific national minority group, the term they use is "Shao Shu Min Zu", which means "minority nationality" other than the majority Han Chinese nationality. Han Chinese have tended to accept the non-Han Chinese living in China only when they have become "civilised" or assimilated, which means being like a Han Chinese, speaking Chinese, having had a Chinese education and having a Han Chinese name. In this sense, it shows that national minorities also can be distinguished by their attitude toward the majority Han people in China.

As was mentioned in Chapter Two, Nicholas Hans suggested four main factors that identify a nation: language, religion, race and territory (Holmes, 1980). As a contrast to his theory, the definition of national minority used by Chinese scholars is originally from Stalin, who defined a national minority as that a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a

community or culture. (Stalin, 1942) However, this definition is not completely suitable for the national minorities in China. First of all, some of the national groups do not have their own unique and common languages, for example, the Hui and Manchu use Han Chinese, and part of the Yugu speak a Turkick language while the rest speak Mongolian. Secondly, quite a few national groups are not concentrated in a certain territory, for instance, the Hui, Mongolian, Man, and specially Han are scattered all over the country. Third, larger groups always have a greater cultural influence on the smaller ones, therefore, part of any national group's culture has already been assimilated either by a bigger national minority in some areas or, more often, by the Han majority group.

The process of formally identifying the national minorities actually began in the 1950s, when the Chinese government encouraged all minority groups in the country to declare their national allegiance. Quite surprisingly, several hundred groups claimed to be specific. After ten years ethnographic work by specialists, 53 national minorities were officially recognised in 1956, and the number rose to 55 in 1980. However, there are still some national minorities whose status is not yet clear. The total of the latter group is probably around 900,000 people. (Sun, 1990)

The languages of the national minorities in China mainly belong to two language families. 29 national minority groups languages belong to Sino-Tibetan and 17 belong to the Altaic family. Among the rest, 3 of them belong to South Asian, 2 Indo-European, 1 Southern Islands and one has not been categorised, which is Korean. The Hui and the Man use Han. 21 national minorities have their own written scripts, and the government has created written language for 10 other groups. The rest use Chinese. (see **Table 3.1** Major National Minority Groups in PCR and **Table 7.1** Languages Categorised in China)

Table 3-1 Major National Minority Groups in the PRC

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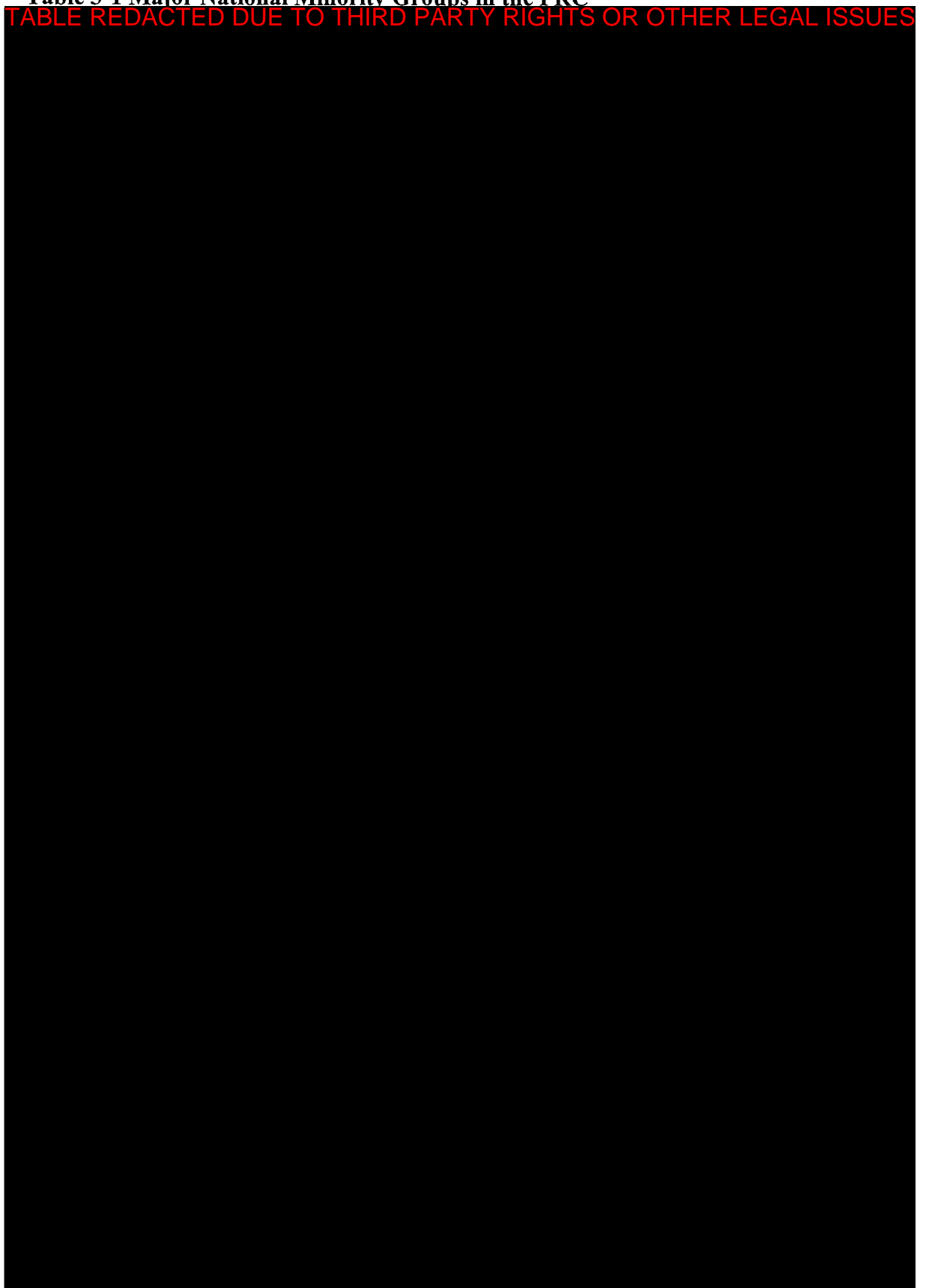


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(Source: SCNMA,1996)

After thousands of years of development, the Chinese concept of nationalism now contains a new element, i.e. Communist ideology, in addition to racial exclusionism. The concept of national minority in China is not an issue of race, because the Han distinguish themselves from the others on grounds of culture superiority. The next section of this chapter will help to understand these claims.

3.3 Policies towards National Minorities Before 1949

Chinese policies towards national minorities developed in a wide variety of ways. Historically, the formulation of China was a result of the process of assimilation (both forced and persuasive). It is the outcome of the growth of Chinese nationalism. Basically, Chinese Communist policies are a combination of traditional Chinese philosophy and Communist ideology, which are constantly adapted according to China's ongoing situation. Although they could be different in shape, the dilemma between a pluralistic communist ideology and the need to preserve state unity remain.

The question of nationality is a burning issue both for the Chinese and for those interested in the country because of its power to make or break the regime's reputation. Chinese publications always show us that the "brother nationalities" have been united throughout history and have helped build the Chinese state. But the dilemma remain, although scholar like Thierry, for example, have argued that "modern China is behaving today as the Tang (618-907) once did, as a colonial power and because the policy of the PRC is radically new, it has enabled it to settle the national question." (Thierry, 1989)

The Chinese first began to formulate its policies towards the present minority regions during the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) in Xinjiang for it was a strategic border region, bordering Russia, India, Pakistan and Tibet, raising the issue of political and military reliability. Most of the minority groups in China still live in such border regions. Although the population is small in comparison to the percentage of the total population (9%), because they live in "frontiers" and are geographically distributed over nearly 60% of the total area of the country, policy towards the national minorities has been, and continues to be a difficult and conflict ridden task.

Before the Chinese Communist Party came to the power, China was ruled by the National People's Party headed by Sun Yat-Sen. His concept of nationalism equalled anti-

imperialism, as almost the whole of China was divided by foreign powers in 1911. His idea was to unite all the nationalities in China to form a great Zhong-hua nation on the basis of ancient Chinese cultures. He denied that China was a multi-racial nation. He assumed that the majority of the people of China belong to the Han group, and the other groups had already developed a common identity in a bigger Chinese nation over the centuries of interaction with the Han people. His policy towards minorities can be defined as a gradual assimilation with guarantees for complete equality of every national minority group in a larger social and political entity. Watson (1981) describe the KMT's policy as Han chauvinism. Watson quoted:

We must facilitate the dying out of all individual people's inhabiting China, e.g. Manchus, Tibetans, Mongols, Tartars...we must satisfy the demands of all races and unite them in a single cultural and political whole.

(Watson, 1981. p99)

As a protege of Sun, Chiang Kai-Shek adopted a firm policy of assimilation. He saw the Chinese as one nationality, asserting that the differences among peoples could not be differentiated by race but by religious and geographical circumstances. He proclaimed that various clans actually belonged to the same racial stock. (Nam, 1989)

According to Watson, the KMT used education as an effective weapon to ease cultural differences and to carry out the assimilation process. Many Han schools were built from 1911 to 1949, and millions of Yuan were spent on food, book and clothing subsidies for the national minority children. The use of standard Chinese was imposed in the national minority areas. Even the name of the cities where minority groups were based, had to be replaced by a Chinese name. National minority people were even strongly encouraged to adopt Chinese names. (Watson, 1981)

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) started to formulate its policy as early as 1922, just one year after it was established. Basically, the CCP took advantage of the National

People's Party's (KMT) mistakes in handling the minorities' problem, particularly the KMT's, emphasis on assimilation and its failure to give the right to national minority people to educate themselves in their own languages. Thus, prior to liberation, the CCP's national minority policy adopted a more persuasive way of assimilation rather than the more coercive way of the KMT. (Watson, 1981)

According to Watson (1981), the CCP policy is totally based on Marxist-Leninist concepts and it copied the Soviet Union's policies towards its minorities. Therefore, at the beginning, the concepts of autonomy and federalism were specifically offered to Mongols, Tibetans and Turkic Muslim in Xinjiang. In 1931, driven out by the Kuomintang armies, the CCP built up a state apparatus in Jiangxi province and drew up a constitution for the Republic of Chinese Soviets, which was promulgated at the first Congress of Chinese Soviets at Ruichang on 7th of November 1931. It stated:

The Soviet government of China recognises the right of self-determination of the national minorities in China and their right to complete separation from China and to the formation of an independent state for each national minority. All, Mongolians, Tibetans, Miao, Yao, Koreans, and others living on the territory of China shall enjoy the full right to self-determination, i.e. they may either join the Union of Chinese Soviets or secede from it and form their own state as they may prefer. The Soviet regime of China will do its utmost to assist the national minorities in liberating themselves from the yoke of imperialists, the KMT militarists, Tu-si (tribal headman), the princes, lamas, and others, and in achieving complete freedom and autonomy. The Soviet regime must encourage the development of the national cultures and of the respective national languages of these peoples. (CCP 1931, p223-224)

This policy in fact was leading China into a federation system like the former USSR. By 1935, this policy was recognised as a "federalist" concept and was abandoned by the CCP itself, as the CCP soon realised that a federal system would not be the best way to control these national minority groups. One of the reasons for this change in the policy was the hostility felt by the national minorities towards the Han revolutionaries during the Long March between 1934-1935. (Watson, 1981) The CCP was convinced that if the national minorities were offered the choice, they would choose not to join China. Also the rich

natural resources of the areas where the minorities were concentrated were discovered during the Long March. The CCP determined that the best way was not to offer the minorities any choices. Mao stated that "Russian history created the Russian system and Chinese history will create a Chinese system". (Clubb, 1978, p302) In order to look like keeping its promise, the CCP introduced the term "autonomous republic" to replace the word "federation". As Mao stated in his report to the Seventh CCP National Congress in 1945, "When the people's revolution has been victorious in China, the outer Mongolian republic will automatically become a part of the Chinese federation, of its own will. The Mohammedan" (referred to Turkic speaking Muslim in Xinjiang) "and Tibetan people, likewise, will form autonomous republics attached to the China federation." (Snow, 1978. p90) The Chinese Communist Party developed such autonomous republics into a regional autonomy policy, legitimised in 1949, when the People's Republic of China was founded. It was defined as follows:

An area where a certain minority people have formed themselves into compact communities shall be constituted as a national autonomous district, along with the right of electing local government and power of issuing ordinance and regulations not contrary to the provincial constitution.

(Hawkins, 1983, p78)

Historically speaking, Chinese policies towards the national minorities developed by the Han have always been one, i.e. assimilation. The CCP formed its very first policies by copying the Soviet Union. It inherited parts from the nationalists and was also a combination of Communist ideology and "Middle Kingdom" concept. This can be seen more clearly from the policies formed after 1949.

3.4 Policies in the Years of Political Movements and their Educational Consequences

China has experienced many political movements since 1949, when the People's

Republic was established. The policies towards the national minorities certainly followed political changes, which directly affected the minority's educational development. The schooling network, cadre training and human resource development programmes, in general, have all had a direct bearing on political issues. Those issues can be categorised as: Socialist Transformation in 1950-1953; Anti-rightist (Anti-local Nationalist) in 1957-1958; the Great Leap Forward in 1958-1959; Anti-revisionist 1962-1963, Socialist Education in 1964-1965, the Cultural Revolution in 1966-1976, Anti-spiritual Pollution in 1982-1984 and the Economic reform and Open-door to the foreign countries since 1979. It is quite essential to review these different periods of development together with the policies towards the national minority groups, in terms of providing the background to current Chinese educational policy towards the national minorities.

Regional autonomy policy legitimised in 1949 (referred to at the end of 3.3 earlier) meant that the minority areas would remain as an indivisible part of China combining to form a multinational but unitary state. Meanwhile, people in these areas would enjoy their autonomy with respect to "local conditions and needs", such as education, culture and language.

In November 1950, the Sixth Session of the Administrative Council of the Central People's Government approved "A Tentative Plan for the Training of Minority Cadres", the first major plan in new China to develop the education of minorities. The plan stipulates:

The central, provincial and county authorities should train large numbers of cadres from the different national minorities... to meet the needs of national construction, regional autonomy among minorities and the requirements of nationality policy stipulated in the "Common Programme."

(Kwong, 1989, p28)

In 1951, the Minister of State Education, Mr. Ma Xulun, delivered a report on national minority educational policy and outlined the task for the future at a meeting of the same

council mentioned above:

Educational programmes should foster a spirit of equality, unity, fraternity and co-operation among nationalities; preserve national minority cultures and enhance patriotism and support for the people's government.

(Kwong, 1989, p29)

Wang Feng, commissar for nationalities, reported in "A great victory in our minorities policy":

In order to strengthen the unity of the fatherland and the unity of the nationalities, in order to build the country as one great family, where there will be full equality and regional autonomy for the nationalities, the minority people will be aided so as to undertake social reforms and to develop their economy, their policy and their culture; thus those who are backward will be able to catch up with those who are advanced in the transition to socialism.

(People's Daily, 1 Oct.1951)

On this point, it was argued that one of the recurrent themes of a totalitarian ideology could be found: since the people are one, its expression is one and its representation must be one. National minorities must first of all learn and absorb the science and advanced culture of the principal nationality of their father land, and ensure for themselves the help of the Han people. Han assistance, however, was more like colonial exploitation than anything else:

I said that China could not do without its minority nationalities. There are scores of nationalities in China. The regions inhabited by the minority nationalities are more extensive than those inhabited by the Han nationality and abound in material wealth of all kinds. Our national economy cannot do without the economy of the minority nationalities."

(Mao, 1975, p406)

In 1956, however, Mao pointed out the relationship between the Han and national minorities in a slightly different fashion in his work "On the Ten Major Relationships":

The minority nationalities have all contributed to the making of China's history. The huge Han population is the result of the intermingling of many nationalities over a long time. All through the ages, the reactionary rulers, chiefly from the Han nationality, sowed feelings of estrangement among our various nationalities and bullied the minority peoples."

(Mao, 1975, p407)

The period from 1950 to 1957 was the early stage of the socialist transformation of the country. The CCP policy towards the national minorities focused on two major goals: 1) the unification of China proper and consolidation of disputed borders; 2) promotion of cross-cultural solidarity. (Saifudin, 1951) It is not difficult to see that the Chinese government was prepared to give limited autonomy to some national minorities until a certain stability was achieved between Han and the minorities in those areas. At that time, the class struggle was a major priority in China's development. In the field of education, a 12-year plan was formulated at the "National Minorities Educational Conference" in Beijing, June, 1956. (Hawkins, 1983) The goals included: increased training of minority cadres by improving their higher learning institutions; an emphasis on adult literacy classes; universalisation of primary education and the development of middle schools; establishment of more teacher education institutes and improvement in the quality of language and translation capabilities. It was hoped through these means that national minorities would reach the national average at all levels by 1968. (Ibid.)

From 1958 to 1965, influenced by the Great Leap Forward and the subsequent open break with the Soviet Union, China's official policy towards minorities focused more on class conflict and assimilation than on autonomy, (such as increased use of Chinese language in schools). After that, because of the failure and criticism of the Great Leap Forward, the policy moved more in the direction of cultural autonomy. This meant, for instance, an increased emphasis on minority languages, expansion of educational facilities in minority regions, recruitment of minority teachers, and advancement and popularisation of minority cultural forms. (Hawkins, 1983)

From 1966-1976, China experienced the famous "Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution"(GPCR). During this period, the "class struggle" once again became the dominant force that affected virtually the whole nation. Naturally, it affected the policy towards national minorities. The question of social class and the concept of the correct "world outlook" were considered more important than issues of nationality. Both the Han and national minorities were encouraged to temper themselves to practice self-reliance and hard struggle. (Hawkins, 1983)

Affected by the "class analysis", the basic principle for national minority education during this period was that the priority in education should be given to "poor and lower middle level peasants, workers and herdsmen." (Xinhua, Feb.8, 1972) The various institutes for the nationalities, which were "the major mechanism for recruiting minority cadres and increasing their participation in the decision-making process in China", were changed and reformed. From 1971, they began to enrol students directly from the ranks of poor and lower-middle peasants and herdsmen no matter how many years of schooling he/she had had. It was reported that in the case of the Guangxi Nationalities Institute, one Yao student was enrolled although she only had three years of schooling (compared with the previous policy of only enrolling those with the equivalent of a middle school graduate, i.e. 10 years schooling). She was expected to succeed because of her natural ability as a member of the poor and lower middle peasant to "overcome all difficulties, with a strong will and to make rapid progress." According to this policy, social class backgrounds and "will" were more important for success than exam results and years of schooling. (Xinhua, Jan.20, 1974)

Language, once again, became one of the main issues during the Cultural Revolution. Although the state Constitution clearly states that the national minorities who live in the autonomous regions have the freedom to use their own spoken and written languages, the great emphasis in education was placed on the need for minorities to master the Han language so that the minorities could have access to so called greater achievement. There was also a movement about reforming minority languages to conform to the new Chinese phonetic transliteration system, Pinyin (which is the same as Latin script). In the writer's

own region, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region for example, the Chinese government claimed that Uighur script (which is Arabic) was too backward and started the process of using Pinyin in the region. At the beginning it was not welcomed by the local people as it was imposed on them. But gradually certain advantages were discovered in daily use, especially as it made communication with the outside world very easy. Therefore, most people, especially Uyghur intellectuals, learned it and also enjoyed using it. However, after ten years, the government realised that these Turkic language speaking people in Xinjiang were more frequently and directly getting in touch with other countries like Turkey, and it was a shorter journey for these groups to reach to Western technology than to the Han because of the written script. The government was uneasy with the idea that any national minority could have such direct access to the outside world. Therefore, suddenly the government decided to abandon the Latin (Pinyin) script, which was already widely used and brought back the old Arabic script. As a result, one generation was totally lost. They could not possibly read the Arabic script while all the newspapers and books were already only available in an Arabic version. It certainly damaged the local economic and cultural development.

During the time of "Let a hundred flowers blossom" and "respect for the opinions of minorities", national minority intellectuals naively pointed out that there were too many Han cadres in national minority autonomous regions and not enough minority cadres. In addition, they claimed that minority cadres did not voice opinions or criticisms because they were afraid of being punished as local nationalists. Immediately they received the criticism of the government. Saifudin in his speech to an enlarged conference of the Party committee said: "since the outset of socialist transformation in Xinjiang in 1956, local nationalism had been renewed among the national minorities to a serious extent, particularly among the intellectuals." (McMillen, 1979, p92)

National minority intellectuals were attacked, it being claimed that under the pretext of opposing the popularisation of national minorities, they had attacked the leadership of the Party and undermined the unity of all the nationalities. (Ibid.)

In 1976, when the Gang of Four was arrested, it signalled the end of GPCR and the beginning of a "new historical period of development". (Beijing Review, July 6, 1981) However, what was actually written in the Constitution in 1978 still contained elements on about how important class struggle was. It says clearly that:

The fundamental guarantee that the people of all our nationalities will struggle in unity and carry the proletarian revolution through to the end is always to hold high and staunchly to defend the great banner of Chairman Mao.

(Beijing Review, March 17, 1978)

The idea of taking the class struggle as a key link was carried on until December 1978, when the CCP's Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee was held in Beijing. It was the great turning point for the CCP as it shifted the emphasis of their work into "socialist modernisation". The Constitution of 1982 stated that China is a unitary multinational state built up jointly by the people of all nationalities. It emphasised the principle of "equality, unity and mutual assistance," the need to combat "big-nation chauvinism" as well as "local national chauvinism," and to "promote the common prosperity of all nationalities in the country." (Beijing Review, 12 Dec, 1978) What this did not mean was Han Chauvinism but the emerging national consciousness of national minority groups like the Tibetan and Uyghur people.

Between 1950 and 1980, China experienced many political movements. The policies towards national minorities, therefore, were the most changeable ones in accordance with the unsteady political situation. Education was the key instrument for the government to implement its policies. Two key issues mostly concerned the national minorities, namely language and religion. The government often claimed China made too many mistakes until 1979 and after 1980, China entered into a new political and economic era. In next section, this thesis will look at this famous era.

3.5 Policies in the Economic Reform Era

In 1980, the Ministry of Education established a Department of Minority Education in co-operation with the State Nationalities Commission. A major national conference about national minorities' education was held in Beijing in the year following. The conference reviewed the experiences of the past and formulated new plans for adjusting and developing education for the minorities in China, which were considered as the needs of the new historical period. The main objectives were:

- 1) to strengthen political and ideological education in all schools at various levels with an emphasis on unity between nationalities;
- 2) to emphasise the moral, intellectual, and physical development of minority students (this is the same goal as that expressed for Han students);
- 3) to continue teaching in the languages of the minorities in the minority schools;
- 4) to teach primary and secondary pupils their mother tongues before teaching them Chinese and, eventually, a foreign language;
- 5) to continue to compile textbooks in minority languages;
- 6) to set up primary and secondary boarding schools, and to regard these schools as the backbone of all schools for the minorities that live in sparsely populated and remote areas, where the means of transportation are inadequate;
- 7) to allot additional budgeting at the local level for the school equipment, teachers' salaries and pupils living conditions in the minority schools; and
- 8) to maintain the special offices for minority education in the provincial and county Department of Education, and to strive to recruit as many minority cadres as possible in these offices.

(Gu, 1984)

The importance of developing minority education was described as a matter of "meeting the needs of the Four Modernisation's (industrial, agricultural, national defence and science and technology modernisation); implementing the CCP's nationalities policy; strengthening unity among people of different nationalities; and consolidating the defence

of China's borders." (Peking Home Service, Feb. 25, 1981)

Although the Constitution states that all nationalities are equal, very obvious inequalities exist between the Han majority and national minorities. As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, section 3.3, the minorities live in the less well-developed areas, along the frontiers in the border regions, on the grasslands, in the deserts and the high mountain area, which had been neglected by the central government in the past. Therefore the economic and cultural development of the minorities had been left behind, which was admitted by both the Party and the State. When it is "backward" in economy, it can hardly be "forward" in anything else. Quite commonly, "minority" was interpreted as "backward" among the Han majority. This kind of idea directly affects the life of individuals who come from minority backgrounds.

In recognition of facts like these, the 1982 Constitution stipulates that the state helps the areas inhabited by minority nationalities and speeds up their economic and cultural development in accordance with the peculiarities and needs of the different minority nationalities. In 1984, the director of the General Office of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Mr. Shi Jun, stated that:

The state must fully ensure and helped the national minorities to realise their rights of equality and autonomy. The Constitution lays emphasis on strengthening the regional national autonomy and enlarging the concrete content of the autonomy. The Constitution enables the national autonomous areas and organs of self-government to enact their autonomy in the following six aspects: the right to legislate for autonomy regulations and specific regulations; the right to manage their finance, the right to run their economy; the right to manage their cultural affairs; the right to organise their public security forces and the to use the common spoken and written language to carry out their work.

(Shi, 1984, P457)

The Education Law of 1995 also declares: "The state shall, in accordance with the characteristics and needs of respective national minorities, provide assistance to the development of educational undertakings for each national minority." (SEC, 1995, p5)

The Central government in 1995 started to provide an annual "Fund in Aid of Undeveloped Areas" and an "extra Fund for minority Nationalities", 30% of which being used on minority education. In order to raise the percentage of national minority student enrolment in higher education, the government decided to give those minority students certain allowances on their scores in the national college entrance exam. It made some difference, but the percentage of national minorities in higher education is still below the national average. (This is discussed in detail in Chapter Four)

The Central Committee of the CCP stated in its "Proposal for the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-1990) for the National Economic and Social Development" that "stability, unity and vitality" are the essential points for China to move steadily forward on its drive towards socialist modernisation. It called on the people of all nationalities to "enthusiastically embark" on the Plan in the "pioneering spirit of reform and innovation". It has been considered that to promote the economic and cultural development of the national minorities is an important part of the larger task of establishing "correct relationships" among different regions of the country in terms of economic development. The state and more developed provinces would not only provide financial, material and technological help to the minority areas, but would also provide training programme for the minorities so that they "develop their economy and culture largely through their own efforts." (Beijing Review, Oct.7, 1985)

A number of Institutes for Nationalities were newly established or restored after the Cultural Revolution in different parts of the country in order to raise the educational standards of the national minorities. The most well-known among those is the Central University for the Nationalities (formerly called Central Institute for the Nationalities until 1993), which was chosen as the case study for this thesis. Its primary function is to train national minority cadres at the state level, and also to train teachers and researchers in national minorities' problems, languages, history and culture. Meanwhile it assists the rest of the institutes for the nationalities, which are situated in or near to the minority areas of China and which handles the training of cadres lower than the state level. In 1979 a national conference of presidents of Nationalities Institutes was held and the plans

for expanding and developing the Nationalities Institutes were made. (SCNMA, 1996) Hu Jiabin, one of the vice ministers of the State Commission for the National Minorities Affairs emphasised the strategic importance of the nationalities institutes in helping to meet the needs of economic and cultural development in the minority areas. (Ibid.)

Apart from these institutes, a number of China's prestigious universities, for instance, Beijing University, Qinhua University and Shanghai Jiaotong University, have opened special classes for national minority students in order to train high-level professional personnel. Meanwhile, the Han graduates are encouraged by the central government to go to the minority areas to work. (Li, 1995)

The statements made by the central government clearly indicated that for last 50 years national minorities were assured of equal rights in relation to their politics, economy, culture, further their education constitutionally.

The reform and open door policy did make a difference in the quantitative expansion of education and national minorities seemed benefit from this achievement. However, there have been problems of inadequate facilities and inefficiency in the higher learning institutions for the national minorities. Most importantly, there is an uneasy access to higher education for the national minorities who insist on maintaining their national identities, such as language, religion and cultural tradition. In Chapter Five and Six, there will be further discussions on this issue.

3.6 Conclusion

"Middle Kingdom" exclusionism has been the basis for Chinese policies towards the "barbarians" throughout its history. In modern times, the same policies have put on a coat of Communism in order to gain the support of the national minorities who have been oppressed by both the KMT and foreign imperialism over the decades. Chinese policies

towards its national minorities might have appeared differently in different periods of its history but the purpose of the policies has rarely been different. It has always been following one central line--Han Chinese assimilation.

The CCP successfully came to power in 1949 and achieved full control of national minorities within the existing borders of China shortly after the People's Republic of China was established. National minorities were hoping the CCP could implement the same policies as it promoted during the year of revolution, would keep its promises and allow them to develop their own culture and economy.

However, nothing happened as promised. First of all the CCP could not escape from the political movements created by itself. For example, "the Great Leap Forward" in 1958, "Class Struggles" throughout the 1950s and 1960s and the Cultural Revolution from 1966-1976. Educational practice directly reflected the uncertainty of the CCP's policies. Schools were used by the government as its agents to implement its policies towards national minorities. But the political changes meant that there was no long term and constant policy in national minority areas. If there was, it was, in general, an assimilation policy. Being the Communist, the government had tried to form a policy with elements of pluralism, for instance, with equality among the nationalities frequently mentioned by the government. However, before it too long, it is likely that assimilation will be the dominant theme again, as Communism and Middle Kingdom does often clash.

After 75 years, Communist Chinese policy towards national minorities has now focused on the "stability and modernisation" issue among the minorities and between the Han majority and national minorities. In fact, the term "melting" i.e. assimilation, is now used to discuss the probable future of minority-majority interaction. However, Yinger (1981) pointed out that assimilation is a reversible process. (cf. p35) The Tibetan Revolt in 1959 and the Uyghur's exodus to Russia in 1962³ have also supported Yinger's theory. Indeed, Chinese policy appears to demonstrate that the more pressure for being assimilated the

³ Tibet uprising of 1956-59 resulted in the departure of the Dalai Lama. In 1962, approximately 70,000 Kazak and Uyghur left Xinjiang and crossed the border to Soviet Union side.

minorities' feel, the higher consciousness of national identity the minorities may have. That consciousness then will turn into a greater desire for having the same rights as the dominant group and building a pluralistic society where every group is respected equally.

It has always been a dilemma for the Chinese governments on how to handle oppressed national groups' education. As was demonstrated earlier in this chapter, the government certainly does not like to see minority groups developing their education and culture too rapidly, in case the oppressed groups grow stronger and eventually become the dominant one in the near future. But on the other hand, it is not a good idea to lay too much restriction on the oppressed groups to stop them from developing their education and culture as well as their economy, because too many restrictions will increase the chances of the oppressed nation's rebelling. As Coulby and Jones stated: "Accept separation and unity of the state may be threatened; enforce segregation and the unity of the state also may be threatened. There is no simple answer and each state usually attempts to resolve the issue in ways which best secure its own stability rather than the educational needs of the minorities concerned". (Coulby & Jones, 1995)

In China right now, all aspects of the educational system have changed to help facilitate economic growth, national unity and more harmonious relations between social classes. One can hardly see or read about issues such as revolutionary ideology or class stratification. But in many people's mind there is a worry about the policy swinging back to another variant of the "conflict" approach to inter-group relations. As is the same case in other countries, this likelihood will increase if the modernisation approach does not solve the real problems of educational and economic inequity between China's majority and its numerous minorities. (Hawkins, 1983)

In conclusion, this Chapter together with Chapter Two has briefly reviewed the theories related to state responses to the multicultural society and their educational consequences in order to provide a background for the study. They show the real dilemma that multicultural states like the PRC face in relation to providing education in a plural society, and whether that plurality is accepted or not. In order to examine the dilemma, a

more detailed examination of a specific and relevant part of the PRC education system is needed. This is the main concern of the following chapters, as it will be a case study, a special reference to the CUN, in which Chinese policy towards its national minorities will be narrowed down to the area of higher education. In other words, Chinese policies towards its national minorities will be studied through one of the higher learning institutions formed especially for the national minorities by the central government.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CENTRAL UNIVERSITY FOR THE NATIONALITIES IN CHINA'S HIGHER EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

4.1 Introduction

After Chapter Three's brief review of Chinese policies towards national minorities in general, it is essential to narrow down the focus of the study and specifically examine one specific place and look at the workings of the policy in more detail. Therefore this chapter looks at the higher educational system of China, with special reference to one of the higher learning institutions, to demonstrate the enduring features of Chinese government policy towards its national minorities.

The reason for choosing higher education as a specific area is because of its main features. For instance, as was discussed in Chapter Two, higher education responds sensitively to the demands of the social political and economic system; secondly, it directly reflects the development of science and technology within a society; and thirdly, it plays a very important role in research. One therefore, can say that in terms of maintaining national identity and developing culture and economy, higher education has to be the key. Without developing these aspects of life, one's culture cannot advance any further.

The Central University for the Nationalities (CUN) in Beijing is one of thirteen higher learning institutions for national minorities in China. (As shown in Appendices) It was established in 1951 and it is the oldest and the biggest comprehensive university for national minorities studies established by the Chinese central government. Although the students are from 55 different nationalities, their aim is the same: to empower themselves

through higher education and gain a higher social status. The CUN, together with the other 12 institutions for the nationalities, were specially set up by the government and were intended to be very different from other higher learning institutions in the country for they are mainly formed by national minorities, run by national minorities and serve only the national minorities (SCNMA, 1996).

However, in many other respects, such as the guiding principles, management system and the role of the university as an educational institution, the CUN is not much different from the others.

This chapter is therefore divided into three parts: the guiding principles that illustrates the government's targets; the management organisation, i.e. policy delivery, implementation and control; and finally, reform at the institutional level of the CUN. This chapter thus develops the discussion of the role of education, which was outlined in Chapter Two. It also tries to answer the following questions:

- A. How have the political and social changes taking place over the years reflected national minorities, specifically in the area of higher education?
- B. How has the government been using higher learning institutions like the CUN to promote its over all policy and deliver its messages to the national minorities?
- C. Have these higher learning institutions, especially established for the national minorities, met the expectations of the students and their parents.

The organisation of this chapter is therefore structured as follows:

- 4.1. Introduction
- 4.2. The guiding principles
- 4.3. Management organisation
- 4.4. Reform of the management organisation
- 4.5. Conclusion

4.2 The Guiding Principles

In China, like in many countries of the world, education has been strictly controlled by central government. The political movements in China since 1949, such as "Soviet Pattern", "Against Rightist Ideology", "Great Leap Forward" and the most disastrous of all--the "Cultural Revolution", strongly affected economic development. Without doubt, education suffered as the government admitted in its report produced in 1985:

Since late 1950s, however, because of the failure to shift the emphasis of the Party's work to economic construction and influence of the "leftist" ideology of "taking class struggle as the key link", the educational cause, instead of being regarded as important, was repeatedly and at length rebuffed by the "leftist" political movement. Because of the Cultural Revolution, such "leftist" mistakes even developed into radical actions, discrediting knowledge and eliminating education. Consequently, the cause of education was seriously harmed, the broad masses of educators were severely persecuted, the growth of the whole generation of young people was retarded and an already narrowed gap between China and other developed countries in many areas of education again widened.

(CCP, 1985, p1)

From 1979, the political and economic situation began to change. Instead of the class struggle as the key link, the CCP put the stress on economic growth. The objectives set for economic development under the umbrella term of the Four Modernisations consisted of quadrupling the total 1980 industrial and agricultural output value by the end of the century and of approaching the economic level of developed countries by the middle of the 21st century. (Hu,1982; Zhao,1987) This ambitious endeavour to transform the nation's comparatively backward economy called for and brought about a series of corresponding economic policy changes. Chief among them was the separation of ownership from managerial authority; the establishment of a market-oriented system; the promotion of horizontal ties in addition to the vertical leadership; the introduction of a macro-management system based on indirect control of enterprises and the development of an economy with plural ownership-state, collective and individual. In short, the highly

centralised planning and control system began to be replaced by more local enterprise initiatives and a certain degree of market regulation (Zhao, 1987). Meanwhile, the CCP relaxed its repressive controls and abandoned a revolutionary and mobilisation style of leadership for a more "laissez-faire" posture (Falkenheim, 1989.p.4).

Since the early 1980s, education began to serve a primarily socialist construction, (i.e. economic reform), instead of serving proletarian politics, (i.e. class struggle). In 1985, the Chinese government announced "The Decision on the Reform of the Educational System", (known as the "Decision"). This is the present guiding principle for the whole educational system, including that for the national minorities. Specifically for higher education, according to the "Decision", the principles can be summarised as follow:

- 1) By the end of this century, a system of higher education is to be established with abroad variety of departments and areas of study at different levels and balance. With the effective use of domestic resources, higher education is committed to training scholars and professionals in all fields and making a greater contribution to the development of science and technology and advancement of theories and practices in China's modern socialist reconstruction.
- 2) Reform of the college admission and job placement processes is to be undertaken. Students seeking admission will have more opportunities through avenues other than the state planed quota. Additional approaches for job placement are to be put into practice, so that both the graduate and employers may have more flexibility of choice. Scholarships will only be awarded to the students who do exceedingly well in their studies.
- 3) Colleges and universities will have more autonomous authority in decision making, while the State Education Commission will focus its efforts on making decisions with regard to general policies, guiding principles and evaluation issues.
- 4) The control of colleges and universities is to be at two different levels: the central government on the one hand and the governments of provinces, autonomous regions and

municipalities on the other. The more effective use of existing colleges and universities is to be encouraged by the establishment of new ones. Postgraduate enrolments will be multiplied, especially in prominent universities.

5) Innovation in educational philosophy and teaching methodologies is to be promoted in order to train capable personnel corresponding to the requirements of the new era of information technology.

6) Colleges and universities will pay special attention to the improvement of quality, the good use of investment, and social effectiveness. As inseparable components of higher education, correspondence courses, part-time courses and radio-TV programmes for adults are to be developed on a nation-wide scale.

(Derived from CCP, 1985)

These guiding principles remain the fundamental aims for higher education throughout the country. The CUN as a higher learning institution naturally has to implement the CCP's "Decision", and is committed to training national minority scholars and professionals for their areas in order to help with economic development.

However, this reform of the guiding principles is not that suitable for higher learning institutions like the CUN. A good example of this is the new scholarship system. Under the new system, only the top 2 or 3 students out of 40+ in a class can be awarded a scholarship after the first year's study in the university. Most of the CUN students come from the poorest areas of the country. It has already cost the parents a lot, probably a life-time's savings, to see their children reach this higher educational level. They rely on the scholarship, which used to be provided for everyone who passed the entrance exam at the CUN. Reform of the scholarship system is definitely not good news for those national minority people who can hardly afford anything. The CUN's special scholarship system used to be an attraction, in particular, encouraging people from different national backgrounds to undertake nationality studies. The new system could easily be one of the reasons that caused the studies in this field to fade away. In other words, the central

government does not seem very keen to invest and develop Chinese national minority studies any more, perhaps because they consider that China had already passed that stage of its development. (Chapter Five will have more discussion on this)

In the "Principles", the government asked universities to make good use of investment and run part-time courses and radio-TV programs. In the CUN's case, as it is located in Beijing, the part-time courses will only benefit the Han, who are the locals. The budget from the central government is supposed to be uniquely for the national minorities. In reality, it is the Han who actually share it. The radio-TV programs produced by the university barely reach many minority areas, as satellites do not cover them. In addition, television does not even exist in most of the homes in those poor areas, where people are in real need. Again it is the people who live in the cities, most of them Han, who actually benefit from this new educational project.

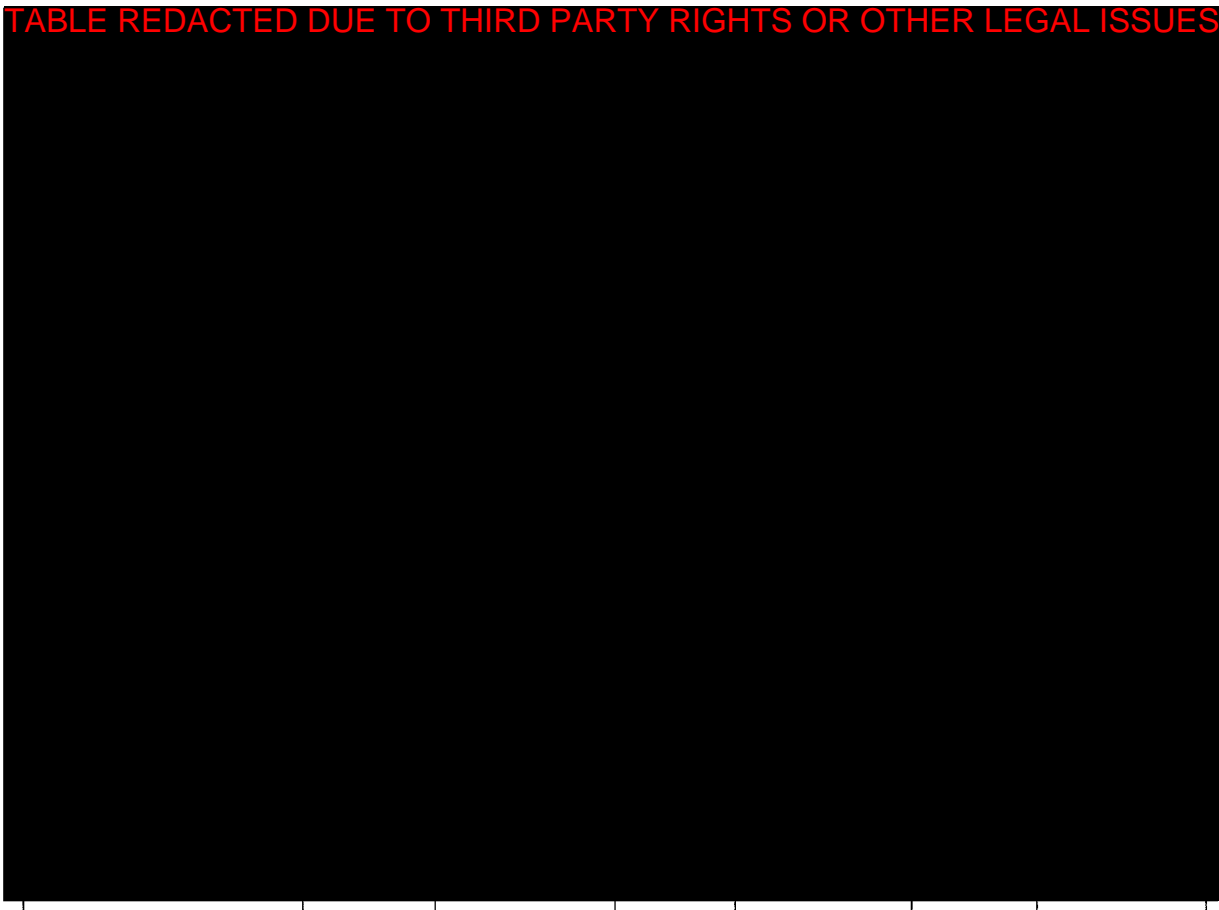
Since 1980, higher learning institutions in national minority regions that teach in minority languages have been permitted to have their own entrance examinations which are organised by the individual autonomous regions. However, the entrance criteria for the key universities is still the same, i.e. candidates have to pass the national-level examination which takes place yearly and is organised by the central government. Although university admission standards for national minority students have been lowered in recent years, the percentage of national minority students in higher learning institutions in total has just reached 6.5%, (see **Table 4.1**), which still is below the percentage of the national minorities' population--9% in China. Statistics also show that in 1996 there were 47 graduates for every 10,000 people in China but only 19 graduates for every 10,000 national minority members, which was 60% lower than the national rate. (SEC, 1997, p81)

There are several reasons for this. First of all, the government believes that it is at the level of basic education that the national minorities are in the greatest need, and where the economic rate of return is greatest. As Teng stated that the lower the level and standard of education, the greater the economic and social benefits was derived from

investment in basic education. (Teng, 1996) Secondly, as the government tries to learn lessons from other developing countries, increasing the university student population may also increase the likelihood of student political activism. National minority students from universities in autonomous regions have been active in nationalist movements, especially in Tibet and Xinjiang. Two out of the 21 most wanted student activists in the 1989 Tiananmen Square movement were from national minorities. Therefore, national minority student activism has become an important matter, as it raises the question of the contribution of higher education of national minorities to national integration.

Table 4.1 Number of National Minority Students, Teachers, Staff & Workers Enrolled in Regular Schools at Various Levels (1996)
(in ten thousands)

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



(Source: Derived from SEC, 1997, p81)

The **Table 4.1** (above) shows if and by how much the government's guiding principle has been achieved. The figures indicate that the government seems to have achieved much in primary education together with teacher training. In both areas, the percentages are close or above 9%, the percentage of the national minorities in total. However, in other crucial areas which are important for the national minorities' development, such as vocational education, secondary education and higher education, the government has failed to fulfil the national minorities' dream.

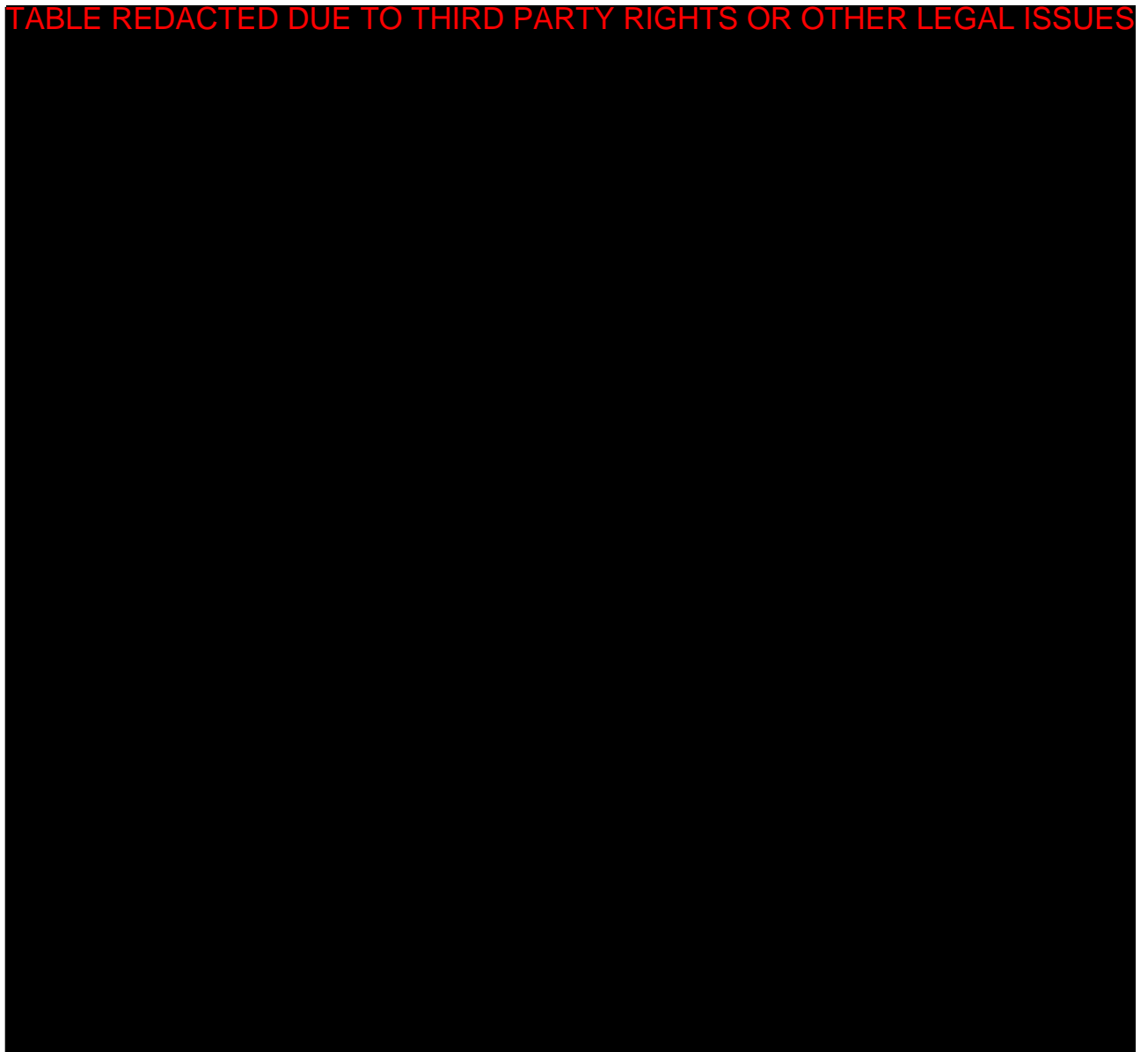
Current guiding principle indicates, first of all, that the Chinese education is continuously highly centralised and controlled by the CCP. Secondly, it indicates that China has entered into a new era that a separate provisional policy towards national minorities is becoming less important.

4.3 Management Organisation

In this section, the management organisation of higher education is examined in order to study through what approach the government's policy is delivered into the individual people. Figures of China's educational administration structure (Figure 4.1) and national minority's higher educational system (Figure 4.2) will help to understand the management organisation at national level.

The central government's policies are normally implemented through two sets of management, i.e. administrative staffs and the CCP cadres. The administrative staffs look after academic works while the CCP cadres are in charge of political and ideological education at all levels. Figures 4.3, the structure of the university, 4.4, the structure of the CCP in the university, 4.5 the structure of the department and 4.6, the organisational structure of the department in the CUN are the illustrations of the management organisation in the educational field.

Figure 4.1 China's Educational Administration Structure



(Source: Derived from SEC, 1997)

According to the decision of the State Council in 1963 and 1979, the organisations for higher educational management were: the Ministry of Education, other Ministries, governments of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. The distribution of

responsibilities among them is as follows:

The responsibilities of the Ministry of Education.

- 1) To plan for the approval of the State Council the development of higher education; to examine and approve the setting up and suspension of colleges and universities; to alter the authority or control; to initiate schemes for college growth and length of schooling; and to oversee the setting-up of new specialisations.
- 2) To establish guiding principles for curriculum planning for colleges and universities; to plan and approve the compilation of general teaching materials; to lay down the rules and regulations regarding the participation in productive labour or fieldwork for college students.
- 3) To work out rules and regulations for research; to promote and examine the development of academic exchange programs; to examine and approve the schemes for the establishment, reorganisation or closing of research institutes at colleges or universities.
- 4) To approve post-graduate programmes and exercise unified control over them.
- 5) To control or guide college, and assist the State Planning Committee in developing plans for the job placement of college graduates.
- 6) To advance, for the approval of the State Council, suggestions on the appointment or removal of the presidents or vice-presidents of colleges or universities; to draw up rules and regulations for the training of college faculty, their further studies, promotion or transfers; to examine and approve the list of professorships.
- 7) To supervise political and ideological education, teaching, research and students' participation in productive labour.
- 8) To manage all key colleges and universities, especially those under direct management of the Ministry of Education.

(Derived and translated from Wang, 1987)

In 1985, The State Education Commission was set up, replacing the former Ministry of Education. This Commission is more powerful functionally since it assumes the co-ordination of several Ministries and Department Committees of the State Council

concerning education, and its chairman is a vice-premier. The Department of National Minority Education was set up under this Commission. Corresponding organisations and appointments occurred at the provincial, prefecture and county levels.

Most of the national minority areas are in a poor educational situation. The main causes are the economic foundations of the region, the financial background of the families, levels of educational financing and the level of integration of education into the local economy. In short, every factor is related to finance. The government has increased the special funds for national minority's education since 1980s. However, most of the finance given by the government for minority regions goes to production rather than education, because the leadership in these areas does not pay enough attention to education. Education is considered a soft rather than a hard responsibility because it does not fill people's stomachs. (Teng, 1996) The leadership's attitude is an important issue that raises a question: whether the education of national minorities should be the priority of investment, or education should be held back until more general enrichment arrives in these areas.

The responsibilities of the Ministries and Department

The relevant Committees of the State Council have the following responsibilities:

- 1) To implement the management of the subordinate colleges or universities according to the guiding principles and regulations approved by the State Council and Ministry of Education.
- 2) To make suggestions on the development of the subordinate higher education institutions, the scheme for college growth, also the setting up of field specialisations and determining the length of schooling.
- 3) To plan the curriculum and the syllabi approved by the Ministry of Education; to approve the compilation of teaching materials in the respective fields, to arrange college students' fieldwork and internships, and initiate seminars for the interchange of teaching experiences.
- 4) To supervise political and ideological education, teaching, research, the training of

faculty staff, general services, and students' productive labour at the subordinate colleges or universities.

- 5) To put forward suggestions on the appointment or removal of the presidents or vice-presidents of subordinate colleges or universities having the approval of the State Council through the Ministry of Education.

(Derived and translated from Wang, 1987)

The CUN together with the other 12 higher learning institutions for national minorities are controlled directly by the State Commission for National minorities Affair (SCNMA). The role of SCNMA is to supervise and inspect the carrying out of national policy in national minority regions. It works to ensure the principle of equality among the national groups; to strengthen unity among nationalities; to train national minority cadres; to improve socialist development among the minorities; and to manage national minority work in general. (National People's Congress, 1984) It is the SCNMA who makes sure the principles and regulations formed by the central government are being implemented at the institutional level. The teaching plans and teaching materials used in the colleges have to be approved by SCNMA. The presidents of the colleges are normally selected from one of the national minorities, for political reasons, and they have to be reliable politically, although the real power is still in the university's party secretary's hand. "Political and ideological education" generally refers to educating people with Marxism and Leninism, or socialism and Communism. But for the national minorities, more importantly, politically and ideologically is the socialist national views, i.e. China is a unified multinational country, where every national minority group is a member of a great family. In other words, no matter how different your national minority groups are, you still belong to the Chinese people. Therefore, every one is obliged to contribute to national unity. Revealingly enough, according to this research, this type of nationalist education is not normally mentioned in other higher learning institutions where just the Han population study. (P. No. 27)

Also at this level are the governments of provinces, municipalities or autonomies regions. Their responsibilities are:

- 1) To supervise the implementation of the Central Government's guiding principles, policies, development planning and regulations for colleges and universities.
- 2) To put forward suggestions on the establishment, suspension and reorganisation of local colleges and universities for their development, the setting-up of field specialisation and determining the length of schooling.
- 3) To assist the Ministry of Education and other Ministries and Department Committees in supervision of college teaching and research so as to assure the improvement of quality.
- 4) To supervise political and ideological education, social activities, productive labour and other general affairs which are their responsibilities.
- 5) To be in charge of all affairs of local colleges or universities; to make suggestions, for the approval of the State Council through the Ministry of Education, for the appointment or removal of presidents or vice-presidents of local colleges or universities; to examine and approve the name-lists of associate professorships and report relevant data to the Ministry of Education.

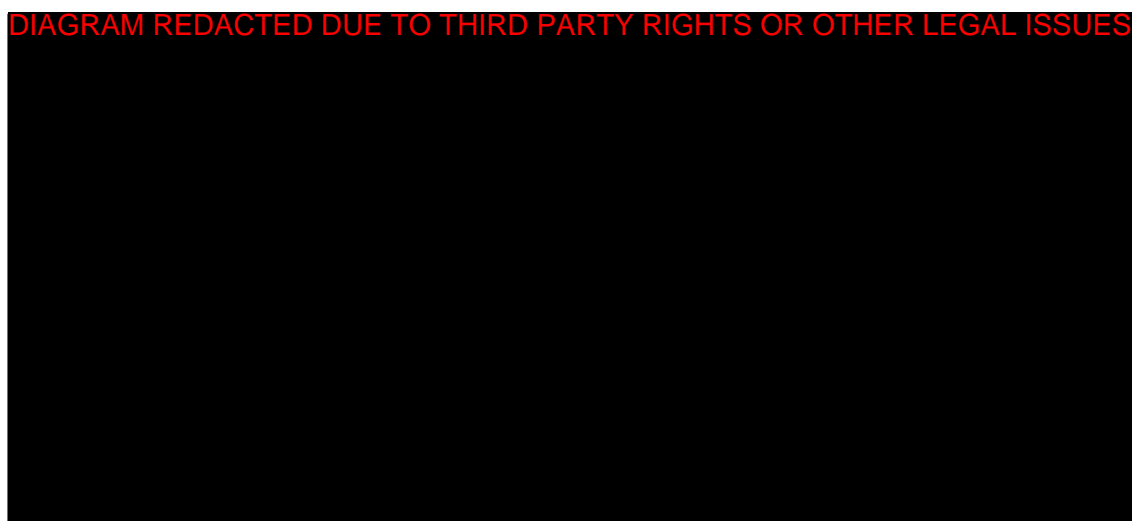
(Derived and translated from Wang,1987)

The government obviously made no distinction between the provinces and the five national minority autonomous regions in this respect. The Law on Regional Autonomy for National Minorities was adopted in May 1984 at the Second Session of the Sixth National People's Congress. It dealt with the rights of self-governing organisations and the training and assignment of cadres, specialists, professionals and skilled workers among the national minorities. In short, the policy has been characterised as one country with multi-nationalities, or political integration with cultural diversification.

However, the gap between policy on paper and practice in reality has always been the main concern for national minorities. Regional autonomy has to be underpinned by a certain level of economic development. Unfortunately the implementation of the new "Law" is restricted by the local economy. Most of the minority regions have the lowest levels of industrial development, communication and transportation infrastructure, and

general standard of living. What is more, while the major cities and eastern coastal provinces gain major attention from the central government and have developed rapidly since 1981, the interior regions, where most of the national minorities reside, will have to wait until the end of the century for the same focused economic development. This means that for minority's education there is less investment in building human resources, insufficient expenditure for teacher training and inadequate financial resources deriving from different sectors of the region, which could further the local educational development. In spite of all these inefficiencies, education in these areas is expected to make a visible contribution to the local economic development as happens in major cities and the eastern coastal provinces. In a sense, the central government has succeeded with the policy formulation but failed in the implementation.

Figure 4.2 The Structure of National Minority's Higher Educational system



(Source: Derived from SEC, 1997)

4.4 Reforms of Management

In May 1985 Central Government made further reforms in the system of control of higher learning institutions. According to Du, its main elements were:

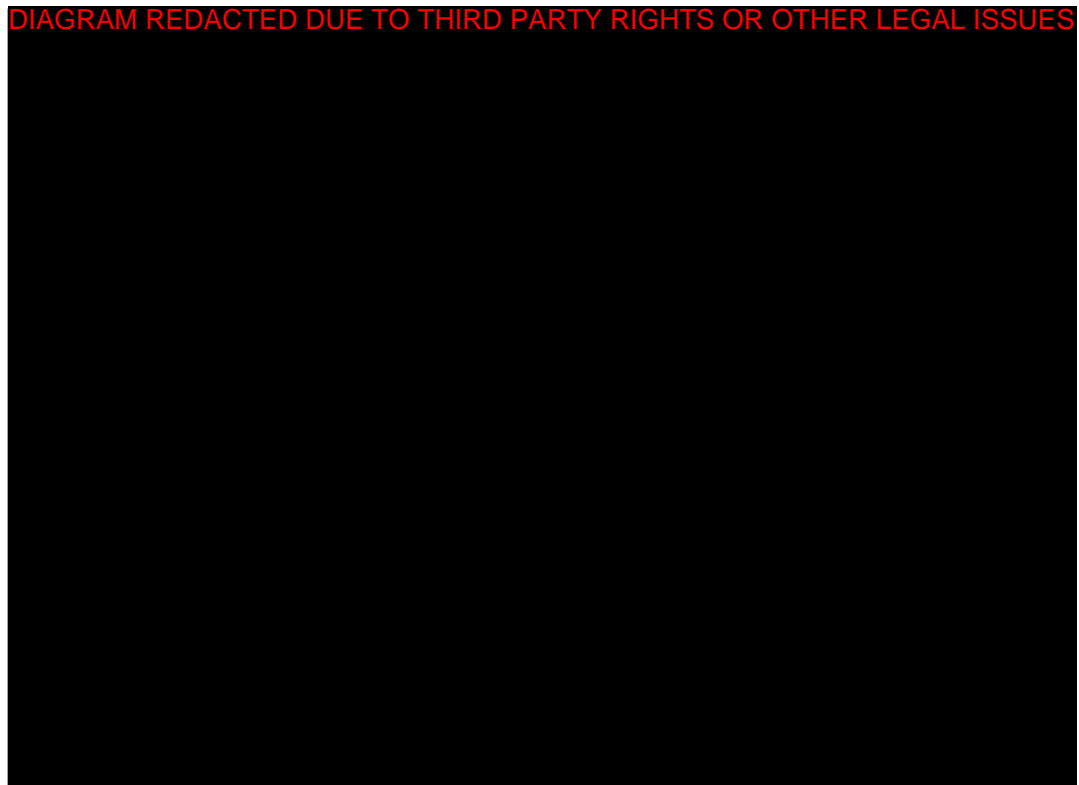
More autonomous authority in decision-making is given to individual colleges and universities, within the perimeter of conforming to the state policy, decrees, and over all planning. Colleges or universities are authorised

- to enrol students out of the state quota by contracts with individual employees or by requiring tuition for individual students;
- to adjust the direction of specialised services, develop curriculum planning and syllabi;
- to initiate the compilation and selection of teaching materials;
- to conduct research and development by contract or in co-operation with other organisations;
- to integrate teaching, research and production;
- to appoint to dismiss vice-presidents and other administrators at different levels;
- to arrange specifically for the investments of funds raised on their own;
- to promote international, educational and academic exchanges.

(Derived from Du,1992)

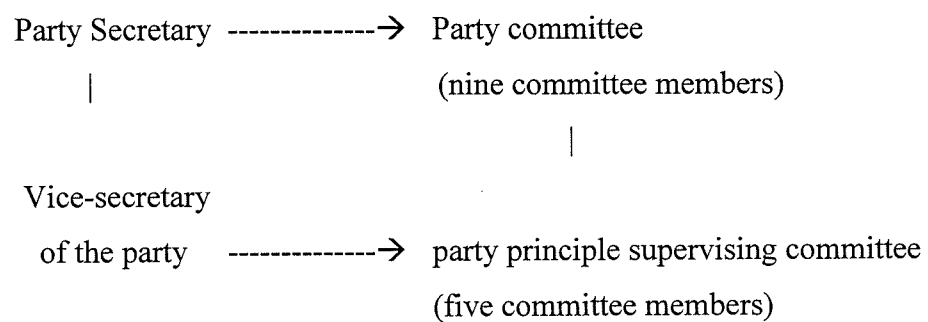
In the management within colleges or universities, the president takes the responsibility under the leadership of the Communist Party Committee. The president is the top administrator appointed by the State to take the leading position in representing the college or university externally and running the college or university internally. (See Figures 4.3 and 4.4)

Figure 4.3. The Structure of the University



(Source: Derived from Rai, 1991)

Figure 4.4. Structure of the Party in the University



(Source: Ibid.)

The role of the Party Committee at colleges or universities is to be responsible for political and ideological education, the construction of Party and mass organisations, keeping up with State principles and policies and the co-ordination of the relationship between the president, college, council, faculty and Staff Representative Conference (SRC), as well as other mass organisations.

The SRC meets periodically to discuss, examine, criticise and make suggestions on important issues regarding teaching, research and the general affairs of the college or university. Academic committees are also set up at colleges or universities, dealing with the examination and approval of research projects and post-graduate programmes, as well as the examination and promotion to professorships and associate professorships. Departments of various study areas are organised within colleges or universities. The chairperson of the department takes responsibility for implementation of the policies and principles in teaching, research and other academic activities. Departments usually cover several divisions of specialism in accordance with the needs and capacity of the institution.

Until to 1978, the management within the CUN, like any other higher learning institutions in China, was affected by those political movements mentioned earlier. In order to meet the challenges from the economic and political fronts, the CUN was called upon, together with the other 12 higher learning institutions, to train large numbers of advanced specialised personnel for the national minority areas.

The key to success in the reform of the higher education system... is to change the management system of excessive government control over the institutions of higher learning, expand the powers of decision-making of the institutions of higher learning in school management... and enable the institutions to have the initiative and ability to meet the need of economic and social development.

(CCP, 1985)

In this context, the administrative and management system reforms in the CUN started to gain momentum. The students and the staff were enthusiastic and hoped the national minorities higher education would have a great leap forward like other higher learning institutions in the country. The reform of the management was mainly displayed in terms of institutional autonomy and the president's responsibility system. Each of these is now discussed.

4.4.1 Institutional Autonomy

Cutting down government control and expanding institutional power made it easier for the CUN to be more autonomous in curriculum planning, student enrolment, textbook selection, personnel administration, funds disposal and international academic exchange.

Up to 1980, no student was allowed to enrol at university without either passing the national exam or being part of the mandated government plan. After the implementation of institutional autonomy, students commissioned by different enterprises or other government departments, and students who wished to pay tuition towards the end of their study, began to be enrolled on the premise that they passed the college entrance exam and the university fulfilled the quotas set by central and local government. The reform benefited some of the prospective students from the national minority areas, i.e. the secondary school graduates. It provided them with a chance to get higher education. Also the students who are sponsored by enterprises or government departments were quite happy to make contracts with their sponsors, because it not only ensured them a job after their graduation, but also gave them a clear view of their career objectives. For self-financing students, tuition could be a burden for their family. However, for the parents who could afford to pay fees, it has become a source of pride that their children have successfully passed the college entrance exam and gained admission to university from among thousands of candidates. This is because money has become a secondary concern for those families. In addition, enterprises and government departments will eventually

benefit from this new system because the scarcity of college graduates has made it a perennial struggle to recruit advanced specialised personnel. Now there is a chance to secure the much needed but hard to get talent for a small price, so they are only too eager to become involved. For the university this was a most welcome arrangement. The money from these sources meant extra finance, sometimes more than the government's budget for the university. More important than the financial benefits was the fact that the existing faculty members, teaching equipment and all facilities could be made better use of by admitting these additional students. Moreover, under the new arrangements, a number of new subjects have been established, such as law, management and computer science as addition to the university's traditional courses in arts and sciences.

However, the reform policy has brought more pressure for those secondary school graduates whose parents can not afford to pay for tuition. Quite often, the lower the income of families from national minorities, the stronger the desire for higher education, in the hope of changing their social status through university studies. In other words, in many national minority people's minds, the role of higher education equals empowerment, i.e. higher education gives access to a higher social status and that social status is even more important for a person who comes from one of the national minorities because "national minority" is always interpreted as "backward" in China. What some of the students could not realise at that time was that higher education could not guarantee their future.

Disappointments are experienced by university graduates because of job discrimination. For example, in Urumqi, the capital of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, one Uyghur academic fluent in Chinese approached a computer firm and offered his services, he was told: "We hadn't considered Uyghurs." (P. 72, 1997) The companies often make contracts with Han students before they enter the universities, but with national minorities they often say that it has to be confirmed after graduation. One of the reasons behind this is the continuing power of Middle Kingdom ideology which believes that national minorities must become like Chinese before they start a proper life despite their higher education.

In addition, the companies that can actually afford to invest in educational fees in advance hardly exist in the national minority regions. Most of them are gathered in the east coast provinces where the government has built up the new economic zones since 1980. To the national minorities it is a vicious circle because the less developed economy causes poor education and poor education has made the local economy fall behind.

The government wants the universities to seek other sources of educational funds instead of only waiting for government appropriations. The new sources include the extra enrolled home students and foreign students, the remuneration for the research works contracted with enterprises or companies, the organisations and individuals from home and abroad, as well as loans from the World Bank. The fact that students of the CUN are mainly from the economically less developed areas, once again limits alternative sources of funding as national minority languages, literatures and history studies are not of interest to the majority of the population or international funders.

More positively, it is true that the CUN, like other universities, has been given the power to set up new teaching programmes, has the power to formulate and organise curriculum planning for the university and also has begun to have the right to compile and select the textbooks and teaching materials according to their own plans. The national committees for syllabi, curriculum and textbooks for all specialities are now only to set national standards, rather than to enforce any mandatory adoption of the work they have produced. The final decision for choosing or adopting is now up to the university. This reform seemed even more suitable and important for a university like the CUN, which has to use different languages to teach. However many subjects in the CUN are facing closure because of the new policy of "Bingui" (i.e. consolidation). This implies that there will be no differences between "within-the-plan" and "out-of-the-plan" students; no graduates will be guaranteed a job by the government and all students will now have to pay high tuition fees plus living expenses. Under the new policy, students wishing to study nationality issue have to think twice in case they cannot find a job after such an expensive and hard study in the university. Needing better job opportunities, students

tend to study a more practical subject or simply give up the CUN and choose other universities as the tuition and scholarship systems are all the same.

In addition to student enrolment, curriculum planning and textbook selection, institutional autonomy is meant to be displayed at the level of personnel administration. The president of the CUN is appointed by the SCNMA (State Commission for National Minority Affairs), but the president theoretically has the power to nominate the vice presidents, to choose deans, chairmen of the departments and research directors and the administrative organisation within the university. All of these used to be appointed by the SCNMA. It seems to be a progressive reform. However, as national minority issues have always been sensitive, the CUN can never be as relaxed as other higher learning institutions of China. Therefore, the leadership has to be formed by extremely trustworthy people and SCNMA has to ensure this.

One of the most remarkable things that has ever happened to the CUN is that it is now allowed to conduct scholarly and academic exchanges with foreign countries directly. This used to be the most sensitive area and was highly controlled by the government. Following the open-door policy, more and more foreign experts, teachers and students have been introduced into the university for short or long term research, lecturing, teaching or learning. Hundreds of faculty members as visiting scholars or research students have been sent to different parts of the world on academic exchanges. But compared to the other universities, the CUN could have done better in the field of international exchange if the government was more relaxed. (P. No. 19)

The institutional autonomy policy is meant to give more power to the individual institution together to the presidents of the higher learning institutions. In the next section, this research is urged to look at the presidential system at the university level in China.

4.4.2 Presidential System

"The presidential responsibility system" was created by the central government in 1985. It means the presidents of the universities or colleges are the chief executive officers in school management. From late 1950s, because of the political climate in China, all the power in school belonged to the Chinese Communist Party University Committee (CCPUC). All the decisions the president wanted to make had to go through the CCPUC and the Party Secretary had the final say in the college, on both academic and administrative decisions. (Wu, 1988) Therefore, a university president could hardly be an effective or efficient manager.

Since the political and economic reform and the reform within the institutions of higher learning have taken place, the "president responsibility system" has begun. The controlling power of the CUN has been separated. The CCPUC is mainly in charge of political and moral education; the discipline of the CCP members; the implementation of the CCP line and policies. (This also implies to departmental level within the university. See Figures 4.5 and 4.6) CCPUC also acts as an assistant to the president in his duty. In other words, their role is to help, not to interfere with the exercising of the managerial power of the president. What all of this signified is that the intellectuals began to be seen as part of the working class vital for the nation's drive towards the Four Modernisations⁴. They are no longer distrusted as an alien force hostile or pernicious to the Communist leadership as during the Cultural Revolution. (Du, 1992)

Because of the 30 years of "leftist" influence and sensitivity about national minorities, the CUN can not change to the new system overnight. Although the president of the university is from a national minority, the party leader has always been Han. On most occasions, the party leader is the decision-maker. There used to be a very obvious phenomenon within the university that none of the managers from national groups could be the first in charge, at most s/he could be the vice-chairman of the faculty or the vice-director of the department. There was a common saying among the people that "the

surname of the managers from national minorities is always VICE".

Figure 4.5. The Structure of the department

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

A large black rectangular box redacting the diagram. The text "DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES" is written in red at the top of the box. A small letter "e" is visible to the right of the box.

(Source: Derived from Rai, 1991)

Figure 4.6. Organisational Structure of the department in the CUN

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

A large black rectangular box redacting the diagram. The text "DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES" is written in red at the top of the box.

(Source: Ibid.)

Since 1985, the national minority autonomy policy has once again been reaffirmed. As a result, most of the directors within in the university responsible for the curriculum and administration were selected from minority groups. However, the Party Secretaries of the

⁴ Goals for the present Chinese economic development originally put forward by Zhou Enlai in 1975,

university and faculties remain Han Chinese. It is true that CCPUC became much less visible as a result of the reform of management but it still exists as the leader. The presidential responsibility system has not become universal yet. In a speech made by Zhu Kaixuan (a leading member of State Education Commission) in 1988 he cautioned that the system was still at a field-testing stage and told the universities not to "rush into" it before they were ready. When or if the changeover would take place depended largely on how the political pendulum would swing in the near future. (Du, 1992)

4.5 Conclusion

The reform which took place in higher learning since 1979 has illustrated the whole political and economic reform process. Despite the institutional autonomy and presidential system introduced to higher learning institutions, education is still highly centralised. The CCP is still very much in charge of the educational sectors like the CUN. The CUN as an educational institution for the national minority groups in China has however, played both proactive and a reactive roles during this social change. The new guiding principles, management organisation and reforms within the university are at their best mere reflections of the whole country's reform strategy.

From the government's point of view, the CUN is a changing institution. By making certain changes in the university's organisation, such as the new enrolment system and the new scholarship system, the whole teaching structure of the CUN will gradually adopt a new style which is going to be less special compared to the others. For instance, certain subjects which uniquely represents the CUN's traditional mission, for instance, minority language courses, history studies and teaching method studies will eventually die out. Gradually the higher learning institutions for national minorities will finish their historical mission and will be left as little different from the other institutions apart from the shells. The students might be enrolled as national minorities and will be graduated as "civilised" (meaning assimilated) Chinese and sent back to wherever they are originally

namely: modernisation of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology.

from to develop (influence, more like it) that part of the country. In short, the goal of the central government's educational policy towards national minorities is to achieve national integration through de facto assimilation. The state resists any kind of direction towards disintegration of national unity.

From the students' as well as their parents' point of view higher education is an empowering process. Maintaining cultural autonomy within a national framework is most often a struggle. The national minorities have suffered enough from both poverty and discrimination. They expect to change their social status once and forever by having higher education and gain at least a better job in offices like Han people normally do in national minority areas. They often expect that social equality will be the outcome of the government's policy. They see university as their only access because they will have the opportunity not only to become professional but also to become fluent in their Chinese.

Despite the big differences between the government's, students' and their parents' points of view, there is one thing that all groups seem to believe in, which is that becoming Han Chinese is the first step towards modernisation. National minorities have to walk a long way through the Han-Chinese passage, an assimilation process, in order to reach a certain development level. This kind of development, normally equal to the same level of the east coast provinces who reached it perhaps 20 years before, means national minorities will always remain behind the Han if they continue following the same pattern.

This chapter has examined the government's guiding principle, the management and organisation and new management policy related to the higher learning institutions with emphasis on national minorities' issues. It is not difficult to see that reform of the management system is in favour of the CCP's control in higher education and national minorities are gradually lead to melt in Han dominant society. What are the reactions to this new policy in the CUN? What are the main concerns of students as well as their teachers? The next chapter looks at these questions. It will examine the opinions given by the students, teachers and administrators and aim to analyse the data specially collected through interviews.

CHAPTER FIVE

FIRST PILOT STUDY

5.1 Introduction

The last chapter looked at the recent reforms of the Chinese higher education system and their consequences for universities like the CUN. These consequences were indicated at rather general level. In this and subsequent chapter, these issues are examined in more detail, much of the data and its analysis were collected during field work in the PRC.

The writer deliberately chose one the Central University for the Nationalities, as it was the earliest established and caters for all 55 different national minorities. Data collected from the students, academic staff and administrators, as well as the graduates and parents of the students will be described and analysed in these two chapters. They give an account of how the government's policy in respect of national minority's education is undertaken at university level and how it has been implemented, both accounts being from the viewpoint of students, teachers and administrators.

This chapter uses data from the first pilot study, which took place from April to May 1996 in Beijing. The aim of the first pilot study was to find out if the instruments, data collection, method and sampling frames served the purpose of this study. In addition, the opportunity was taken to look for further literature relevant to the thesis.

The main research instruments were as follows:

- 1) Non-structured and semi-structured interviews of students, teachers and administrators
- 2) Data from published statistics on numbers of national minority students, teachers

The samples for the first stage of this study were drawn from CUN students, teachers and

administrators. These students, teachers and administrators were selected as a mixture of different nationalities, different age groups, in different areas of study and with a longer or shorter term of work experience. The samples, both snowball and purposive sampling, were:

- 12 students: 9 from year 1 to year 4 undergraduates, 2 MA and 1 PhD student;
- 15 teachers who between them had served any time from 5 to 35 years in the CUN;
- 6 administrators: 3 were the heads of different departments and 1 was the vice president of the CUN; the remaining 2 were the policy-makers from the State Education Commission;

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section includes an introduction and details of which is designed to provide the background to the field study together with the instruments and sampling. The second section is devoted to the survey data, the interviews with students, teachers and administrators related to government's policy and educational consequences. The last section discussed the results of the first pilot study, also addresses whether or not the chosen method for the study had worked.

5.2 The Setting

The Central University for Nationalities (CUN) is located in the Western suburbs of Beijing where universities stand in great numbers. It is a key state university for producing advanced specialists from the national minorities.

The CUN grew out of Yan'an College for Nationalities which was founded by the CCP in September 1941. In November 24, 1950, just one year after the new China was established, the 60th Session of the Government Administration Council approved and promulgated "The Trial Programme for Minority Cadres" and "The Trial Programme for Preparing to Start the Central College for Nationalities". On June 11, 1951, the CUN opened officially in Beijing as "The Central Institute for Nationalities". In 1952, the

Sociology Department of the former Yanjing University, Sociology Department of Qinghua University and the Section of Minority Languages in the Department of Oriental Languages and Literature of Beijing University were merged one after another into the Central Institution for Nationalities. On November 30, 1993, the State Education Commission approved the proposal for changing its name to "The Central University for Nationalities" (CUN, 1994)

The CUN is the top institution of higher learning for national minority groups in China. Through the work of nearly half a century, the CUN has now become a comprehensive university with humanity as its focus and with ethnology as its unique characteristic. It also offers courses in natural sciences, engineering, management studies, and arts. The university comprises 19 teaching departments: Ethnology, Tibetan Studies, National Minority Languages and Literature, Economics, Law, History, Philosophy, Chinese Language and Literature, Foreign Languages, Physics, Biochemistry, Computer Science and Application, Mathematics, Fine Arts, Music and Dance. In addition, it has four divisions: Postgraduate Study, Leadership Training courses, Preparatory Courses and a Correspondence Division for part-time students. Altogether, the CUN has 101 study programmes and offers 1,100 different courses. There are over 7,000 undergraduate and postgraduate students together with 3,000 staff. (SCNMA, 1996)

One might be confused with the figures of the student (7,000) and staff (3,000), as the ratio is almost 2 : 1. But the CUN, like most higher learning institutions in China, operates as a community, where everything is within the campus. There are nursery, primary and secondary schools attached to the university, a hospital, publisher, supermarket and shops, 8 canteens, 3 hair saloons, 2 dry cleaners together with the electricians and plumbers. Moreover, in China, especially in an educational sector like the CUN, the policy is to put politics in command and the Chinese Communist Party exercises leadership in everything, which is repeatedly shown in the Constitution. Consequently, besides the administrative staff, there is another set of managers who are regarded as political cadres and who are in charge of political and ideological education in the CUN. There is a party committee at the university level and sub-branches in the

departmental level, each composed of 5 members. (See **Figure 4.4.** and **Figure 4.6.** for details) In addition to the CCP cadres, there are Committees of Chinese Communist League and its sub-branches.

The CUN actively carries out the policies of central government. It is an important base for training national minority high-level professionals and is well known as a "cradle of national minority genius". In the past 45 years, it has trained over 35,000 minority graduates for the national minority regions. The graduates now are working in the fields of economics, education, culture, as well as science and technology. They have become the main forces of development in the national minority groups' areas. (SCNMA, 1996)

One of administrators interviewed from the State Education Commission (SEC) pointed out the main differences between higher learning institutions for the national minorities like the CUN and other universities:

---- There are higher rates of national minority students and teachers in the higher learning institutions for the national minorities than in other universities.

---- The subjects are especially set up for the needs of national minorities, for instance, subjects related to national minorities history, language and literature.

---- Because of the different subject setting, the teaching material and teacher training programme have been organised in different ways.

---- The management structures are different. In higher learning institutions for the national minorities there is a special division, i.e. "United Front".

The name "United Front" came from the last war, when the CCP tried to unite all the people from different parties, different classes, together with different nationalities to create a front line in order to support the fight against the "Kuomintang" enemy (previous government). The slogan "United Front" made a great difference to the CCP's revolution and helped the CCP to come to power finally in 1949. Since then the "United Front" has remained, yet it only appears where national minorities are gathered.

Having given this general background information, this chapter will move to the next section, where the interviewing, transcribing and analysing of the pilot study are outlined. Through out the pilot study, the main research question, i.e. what are the enduring features of Chinese policy towards the national minorities, remained to be the guide. The data collected from the interviewees is grouped as coming from students, teachers and administrators. Information from the students is categorised as: experience in the university, value and social status, future plans and suggestions. Opinions obtained from the teachers concern the consequences of the government's policy towards the national minorities. The statements made by the administrators explain the contents of the government's policy.

5.3 Data Collected from the Students

The semi-structured interviews started with students. The contents covered:

- Experience in the university
- Values and social status
- Future plan
- Suggestions
- Findings from the students' data

A total of 12 students were carefully selected for the interview, 8 males and 4 females. They were from 9 different national minority backgrounds, i.e. Uyghur, Mongolian, Tibetan, Yi, Uzbek, Kazak, Yao, Hui and Korean. 11 of them were between 20 and 24 years old. Most of their parents' were secondary school graduates, working as professional workers. On average, there were 5 family members in each house with a total annual income lower than 10,000 Yuan (US\$1,200), which is close to the national average. They were from five different departments, i.e. Literature, Language, Music, Philosophy, and Religious Study.

Most of the interviews took place on the campus of the CUN, on out-door benches. Chinese was the main language used for the interviews. In addition, Uyghur language was also used when it became necessary. All the interviewees provided hand-written statements to support the answers that they had given during the course of interview. They were told before the interviews that they did not have to put their names on the statements and everything they said would be treated as confidential. In addition to the statements, notes were taken during the interviewing process.

The data was analysed in the same categories and each of these is now discussed in turn.

5.3.1 Experience in the University

The questions about experience in the university were mainly concerned with factors such as national identity, curriculum and teaching methods in the CUN. (For details see **Table 5.1**)

The data given by the 12 students show that most of them try to uphold their national identities by speaking their mother tongue after classes, mixing with people from the same nationality as their own and enjoying traditional national minority activities. 10 out of 12 students said that they disliked attending one of the most important classes in the Chinese curriculum-- political theory, which teach the Marxism and Leninism ideologies, as well as Chinese characteristic⁵ socialism. 8 out of the 12 stated that the most satisfaction they got from the university was from self-study. In other words, they were not very happy with the current teaching methods used in the CUN. 6 out of the 12 considered exams the most difficult thing to cope with while the other 6 considered "home-sickness" was. The most noticeable thing was that 10 out of 12 students marked that their teachers did not always treat them very fairly.

The data indicated that the national minority students were not completely satisfied with

the curricula, teaching method and facilities provided in the CUN. It also indicated that their culture and identities were important issues to them.

Table 5.1

Response by students for questions related to their experience in the CUN

Questions:	Out of 12 students 10 respond:	Out of 12 students 8 respond:	Out of 12 students 6 respond:
1). Activity you participate in most			Traditional national minority activities
2). Most satisfaction gain from the CUN		Self study	
3). Difficulties encountered			Exams Home-sickness
4). Happiest times shared			With Classmate
5). Difficult times shared			With Fellow countrymen
6). Most of your friends from			Same nationality
7). Language used most in classroom		Han (Chinese)	
8) Language used most outside class			Mother tongue Han
9). Subject enjoyed most		Professional	
10) subject disliked most	Political theories		
11). Feel adjusted well in the CUN		Yes	
12). Teachers treat you as fairly as others	No		

5.3.2. Values and Social Status

Value and social status is one of the most important issues for national minorities in China. This is due to the backward situation as regarded by the Han Chinese majority.

⁵ A distinctly Chinese style higher education system combine its own tradition with patterns and practices

The fundamental reason for national minority group members being so determined to receive higher education is because they are hoping to change their social status and be valued or at least not looked down upon by the dominant Han. The data collected on these issues are summarised in **Table 5.2**

To the question: "Do you think your self-worth has changed since you entered university and in which way?" 8 out of the 12 considered that their self-worth had changed, because their cultural level had improved to a higher standard. They had gained professional skills, became more useful and valuable to society, were more capable of choosing a good job and enjoyed a higher prestige. The remaining 4 people didn't think that this was the case.

8 out of the 12 students answered that since they entered the CUN, their social status had changed, because they considered that they had entered a higher cultural level and joined in a more professional team. They assumed that they were one of the very few people who actually could have higher education. They are therefore, more precious and would gain better positions. 4 of them however, still could not see these changes.

To the next question: "Do you feel your life style is different from that of people in your hometown as a result of coming to the CUN? If it is, since when have you discovered that it is different?" 11 out of 12 students answer "Yes". The reason is most of the students come from backward and poor areas where not every family can afford to educate their children in colleges. Most of the children have to leave school after 9 years compulsory study in order to help the parents to do farm work, or get a job and support their sisters or brothers' education. In some areas children can not even gain 9 years school education, either because of financial difficulties or because of Chinese language barriers. Therefore those who can enter universities always have a longer school life, higher cultural level and bigger ambitions. To answer when they discovered the differences, students said that it was not that obvious until they went home after first year of study in the CUN.

adapted from the systems of others, especially industrialised countries.

To the question: "Do you think higher education helped you to acquire a higher social status? 7 out of 12 students were quite sure that higher education had definitely helped them acquire a higher social status. Higher education helped them to achieve better qualifications, to acquire better jobs and future promotions. 3 of them thought higher education would help to a certain degree, as the situation in China now is quite different from a few years ago when having higher education was equivalent to having gained higher social status already.

When they are asked: "How do people in your hometown perceive your social status?" 8 say "higher". This was a traditional view by the people in minority areas. As university students were still few and it was very difficult to reach that level in these areas, most of the people still perceived their social status as higher. However in cities, some richer people changed their view slightly because it was not so difficult for parents to educate their children in colleges any more. First of all they could afford it. Secondly they learned how to strengthen their children's Chinese language study from the early years.

Table 5.2.

Response by the students to the questions related to value and social status

Questions: Since you entered the CUN, do you think your:	Out of 12 students respond:	Out of 12 students Respond	Total
	Yes	No/Not sure	
Self-worth has changed?	8	4	12
Social status has changed?	8	4	12
Life style has changed?	11	1	12
If higher education has helped with the changes	10	2	12
If people in your hometown think you're gaining higher social status	8	4	12
If your friends in CUN agree with your opinion on these matters	10	2	12

The last question on this issue was: “What are the opinions of your classmates or schoolmates towards you? (agree with you or disagree with you)” The reason for posing this question was because this is one of the ways to know if the students chosen represent the majority of their classmates, or friends in the university. 10 of them thought their colleagues had similar views.

Concerning the value and social status, the data showed that most of the national minority students considered they had already achieved a higher social status by just entering the CUN. They were expecting that towards the end of their study, higher education would provide them with an access to political, cultural and social networks which will help them in their future careers.

5.3.3 Future Plans

Talking about their plans after graduation, 10 out of the 12 students wanted to find a job and 1 was still not sure if he was going to continue his studies or get a job. (as **Table 5.3** shows).

Table 5.3

Response by the students to the question regarding their future plan

Future plans after graduation	Number of students answered
Continue higher degree study	1
Find an ideal job	2
Find any job	8
Don't know yet	1
Total	12

This finding reflects a kind of desperation for some financial independence. It also shows certain job worries from the students. They just want to get a job before anything changes. Students see it as a waste of money, which they do not have much of, as well as energy and time if there are no jobs to pursue. Most of the pressure on this comes from their families. As a son or a daughter, they simply do not wish to disappoint their family.

Table 5.3 indicated that the national minority students were expecting that higher education should provide them a job opportunity and reasonable income and which should be both the outcome and measurement of a successful higher education.

5.3.4. Suggestions for Improvement

Of the 12 students interviewed, 5 people complained that there was too little time for them to self-study. 5 complained that there was too much mechanical “feeding” rather than learning in the classes. 4 complained that the CUN lacks atmosphere and there should be more social activities. 6 people suggested that management skills had to be improved first before the teaching quality improves. 2 complained that no one ever asked them if they had any requests for additional classes and they wished they could have some basic computer skill training. Two research students suggested that more social practice should be provided for them, i.e. students should be able to have some working experience related to their studies while they were in the CUN. **Table 5.4** shows details of the student responses.

The suggestions made by the 12 students indicated that problems exist concerning the quality of teaching in the CUN, relate to teaching methods, curricula, management skills and the academic atmosphere as a whole. As far as classroom instruction was concerned, whilst the existing methods were believed to lay solid foundation for education, many students felt that there was little opportunity for developing creative, problem solving and discussion time in the classroom. Regarding the teaching materials, the students felt there

was a lack of diversity in materials and existing requirements of the curriculum do not allow for any opportunities to deviate from the set text books. In general, the students were quite disappointed with the learning facilities provided by the CUN.

Table 5.4
Suggestions made by the 12 students for the CUN's improvement

Sugges- tions:	Increase self study	More social activities	Less feeding in the class	More classes on request	Improve management skill	More social practice
Made by:						
Student 1			X	X	X	X
Student 2	X					
Student 3		X			X	
Student 4		X				
Student 5			X		X	
Student 6	X					
Student 7					X	
Student 8	X					X
Student 9	X		X			
Student 10	X	X		X		
Student 11		X	X		X	
Student 12			X		X	
Total	5	4	5	2	6	2

X = responding mark

5.3.5 Findings from the Students' Data

The following issues can be drawn from the students' comments

The first issue is that of national minority identity versus national uniformity. Students tried to practice their mother tongue as much as they could, enjoyed traditional national minority activities most, went to their fellow countrymen when they were in difficult

situations and frequently felt homesick, i.e. missed their own national culture. All these indicate that in a larger group formed by Han (Chinese), national minorities are trying very hard to keep their national identity as much as they can and uphold their culture as much as they are allowed. It also shows a certain national solidarity, a resistance to assimilation or awareness of being assimilated.

The second issue was that pedagogy needs improving. There was a resistance to an imposed curriculum with too many political theories and insufficient professional subjects, and also a need for more student individualism, for instance through self study. Although teaching methods attract much criticism, nevertheless, it was the amount of political theories, i.e. Marxism and Leninism, together with the Chinese characteristic socialism that really concerned students in the CUN. However, the government sees it as important to transform national minorities into Communists, as this is a part of Chinese characteristic socialism.

The third issue was the value of professionalism. Students generally believed that higher education leads them towards higher value, higher social status and life style improvement. They were eager to be professional and change their situation with or without knowing what the government's purpose was. The role of education seemed to have two different viewpoints, the students and government have different understandings about the role of education.

The fourth issue was job aspiration and educational qualification. National minority students have come a long way to achieve a qualification. Somehow they were led to believe that if they could have higher education they would change their backward status forever. Whether they are going to gain that higher social status or not very much depends on their securing a place for themselves in the job market. In a country with a 1.2 billion population, it is hard enough for Han Chinese and even harder for a national minority group member to do this in current economic climate.

The fifth issue was that they felt that discrimination existed, even in a university

especially formed for their special needs. If there is anywhere that discrimination should not exist, it should be the CUN. There should be no better place than this gathering of intellectuals in a higher learning institution. Though most of the students did not wish to give examples from their own experience in the CUN, they firmly declared that discrimination does exist.

This section looked at the data collected from the students. In total, 12 students contributed to the studies related to the CUN, a higher learning sector especially formed for the national minorities by the government. The educational consequences of the government's policy towards the national minorities are more detailed. In the next section of this chapter, data collected from the academic staff of the CUN will be examined.

5.4 The Interviews with Teachers

Fifteen teachers from nine different nationalities, with 5-35 years of working experience in CUN were carefully chosen as interviewees. Interviews took place individually at interviewee's residences. The questions were semi-structured and the main concern was the educational consequences of the government's policy towards national minorities. Notes were taken by the interviewer during the interviewing process. In addition, after each interview, interviewees received the question sheet, which contains the questions they had already answered. They were asked to make a statement as they responded during the interviews. All the statements made by the interviewees were in Chinese.

The interviews started with three questions "Are you happy working in this university?" "What do you enjoy most about teaching national minority students?" and "What are the main difficulties experienced in teaching minority students?"

Interviewees expressed their general feelings about the working environment in the CUN and raised questions concerning research limitations in relation to job satisfaction.

Belonging to one of the national minorities, every interviewee passionately loved their job. They liked the idea of working in the educational field of national minorities' studies as they could make some contribution to upholding their cultures by teaching and research. But at the same time they were quite disappointed with the teaching conditions. They complained that there were not enough funds for them to carry out research on national minorities' education. They found that the CUN was lacking a true academic atmosphere and that the teaching equipment and facilities provided by the government were backward compared to the other key universities in Beijing. The CUN used to attract many people because of its privileged position and the benefits it gave to national minority students. Now it has lost its attraction as the government has just cut down on all the benefits and students are responsible for all their expenses as if they were studying at other key universities. Given the same expense, national minority students now automatically choose the university with better learning conditions, quality and methods. As a result, fewer and fewer minority people choose minority studies as their main study area. In other words, the teachers blame the government for no longer encouraging people to study or promote national minority groups' languages, cultures and traditions. The teachers were simply saying that the CUN was not providing the great learning environment it used to, and that the government was breaking its promises which it had made when the CUN was first established.

All the teachers commented that they were happy "when students understand them in the class". This implies that quite often students do not understand the teachers in the class due to national minorities' language problems, i.e. the minority and majority language dilemma for teaching.

In relation to this issue, the following question they were asked, namely "What is your opinion about bilingual education?" All the teachers strongly supported the bilingual education concept. They thought that bilingual education should be promoted and that it was a very good form of teaching, because it was not only helpful for the students' personal development but also was beneficial for the whole educational process in a multicultural society. It also ensured that the national minority groups maintained their

languages and cultures. They especially emphasised that bilingual education is not equivalent to teaching Han (Chinese) only and letting students forget their mother tongue.

However, there were two teachers who argued that bilingual education should not be promoted among every single national minority group. It should only be promoted among the people who have or are going to have higher education. For most minority group members, it should be their mother tongues that got promoted. This was because a group's development very much depended on those higher educated people who could push the cultural level forward. But on the other hand, whether a minority group still existed or not, very much depended on the less well educated majority, the foundation of their group identity. They played a major role in keeping alive a culture, tradition, language as well as social habits. Therefore, mother tongue promotion was a more important issue among the majority members of a minority group than becoming bilingual or rapidly learning Han (Chinese).

Some of the teachers pointed out that bilingual education was quite a complicated issue. If a certain group actually had its own writing script, the mother tongue should be promoted in their textbooks. The reason for this was because the mother tongue played a very important role for a growing child. From teaching experiments, the teachers reported that, those who were good at their mother tongues were also good at learning second or even third languages, as well as at other subjects. This theory related to, of course, those national minority groups who had their own written script. For those who did not have a written script but have the oral language, these teachers suggested that the State should help them create a suitable script so they could keep their language and national identity.

Some teachers complained that every few years, the state would publish statistics which showed how many illiterate and semi-illiterate people there were in the country. The highest percentages were always the national minorities in southern China. The reason for this was because it was considered that their own written scripts were not efficient and that they need a script much more advanced than their own. Therefore, Chinese characters were introduced to them as their reformed written scripts, although they were

still speaking entirely different languages from Chinese. Because their languages and script were disconnected, more and more people found it difficult to learn the new scripts. So they either gave up learning or refused to use it, for it was not serving their purpose in their villages. After a few years, they would forget what they had learned and become illiterate. The main groups concerned in this were She, Buyi, Dai, Hani, Lisu, Yi and Li.(See **Table 5.5.** for details)

Table 5.5 Illiteracy and Semi-Literacy among those age 12 and above

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

(Source: Derived and translated from Sun, 1990, p116)

Table 5.5 has also indicated that illiteracy and semi-illiteracy among the women is almost twice as among the men in China. In some nationalities, for instance Lisu and Hani, the rates were around 85%. This should give the government a clue of from where it should start to work on in order to reduce the illiteracy and semi-illiteracy.

Some of the teachers interviewed raised the question of why the state could not introduce to these groups with no written script something more suitable to learn with. One teacher gave the example of the Salas to illustrate this point. Because of the influence of Islam, many words in Salas sound Arabic. If they were allowed to use the Arabic alphabet as their script, it would be much easier for most of them to become literate. He pointed out that all the Turkic language speaking groups were allowed to use Arabic as they were using it long before Chinese became the dominant group in their areas. The state could not change this for it would be against the constitution. However, he felt that the government appeared not to like seeing the increasing use of any minority groups' writing, due to the influence of the traditional Chinese idea that Chinese was the forefather of the greatest civilisation in human history. Therefore, it was not difficult to understand why the government had promoted Chinese instead of other languages.

One of the teachers however had critical opinions about Chinese becoming the future of national minority groups' language development. He simply considered that the Chinese writing script was too complicated, difficult to learn and therefore was very backward. More, Chinese writing was one of the reasons that kept the state undeveloped in the past and it is not suitable for the requirement of a modern society.

As one teacher pointed out that in Western developed countries, where Latin script was used, after learning 20-30 letters, the learner should be able to read and write. But in order to read and write Chinese, one had to spend at least 4 to 5 hard working years to memorise the basic 4000-5000 characters one by one. Primary education in China concentrated on forcing children to memorise Chinese characters together with basic maths. In the meantime, western countries were concentrating more on helping children to develop their own abilities and increase their social knowledge, after spending much less time and energy on teaching them how to read and write. Consequently, it was so much easier for western countries to communicate, co-operate and exchange among themselves because their writings were so similar. Compared to them, it was far more difficult for Chinese speakers to learn western languages and get access to advanced technology or ideas. Therefore, in a way, it was the Chinese language itself that was

stopping its people from being modernised and developing faster. Yet quite a number of national minority groups' writing scripts were phonetic alphabets. For example, Uyghur, Kazak, Tatar and Uzbek. In total 11 national minorities used an Arabic alphabet, which was phonetic, and so was Mongolian and Tibetan. But no matter how many advantages there were in the minority groups' languages and how difficult it was to learn Chinese, (not necessarily a more advanced script), national minorities still had to spend an enormous amount of time and energy learning Chinese and making sure to learn it well, because it was the Chinese who were the dominant nation, and minorities were always the minorities. (Ma, 1996)

To the question "Do you think the university is helping the national minority students uphold their national identities?" most of the teachers considered that the CUN played a very small role in helping the national minorities to maintain their national identities. It seems that the CUN was trying to uphold minorities' cultures by allowing students and staffs to organise celebrations of minorities' national events. Most of the teachers however regarded it as nothing but a formality. After studying and working in the field of national minority studies for so many years, they tended to analyse at a deeper level and look at more serious issues. For instance, how is the CUN doing in terms of maintaining national minority's languages and culture and improving teaching quality? The teachers were not very impressed with the government's new policy called "Binggui"(translated as "consolidate"), which had meant the national minorities' language and culture study would be restricted because of the lack of funding. Although the state made some efforts to help the CUN keep the present level of support for this subject area, it was still far away from what was actually needed in order to maintain the same status as before. What was happening now, according to some of the teachers, was that lots of students had to give up the CUN and go to other universities and read other subjects instead of national minorities' studies. This is the direct result of the new "Binggui" policy, which caused many smaller group's language study projects to face closure. In other words, the teachers were saying that the subjects related to the national minority's language, history and culture were gradually disappearing under the government's current policy.

When the teachers were asked to comment on any issue related to national minority's education in general, most of them responded that language was the most important matter in developing a national minority's educational level. They criticised the Chinese educational system as not being suitable for these people. It was often difficult to put the policy into practice.

One of the teachers claimed that the whole curriculum and teaching method were adopted from the former USSR when the new China was established in 1949. Chinese writing is so special, however, that the adopted teaching method did not fit properly. There had been some reform in different parts of the country since then. However, uneven development from region to region, together with the original unfit teaching system caused all sorts of gaps as a consequence, the whole Chinese educational process had been a disconnected line. There were problems in every province, but in those places where national minorities were concentrated, it was even more problematic.

Regarding the problems within the CUN, the teachers noted that curriculum should be relevant to the national minorities' areas. There should be more practical and useful subjects for students to study so when they graduated and went back to their areas, they could put everything they had learned into practice. Then the CUN would be able to say proudly that it has done its duty.

The teachers regarded the management system as a weak point. First of all, the administrators were not well qualified. It would appear that government sensitivities about national minorities means that party loyalty was paramount on the appointment of administrators to the CUN rather than administrators competence. Although it was a important issue in all universities, it was more sensitive in the CUN. Quite a number of the administrators did not have the ability to set up their own forms or methods, which made the level of managing skill as a whole lower than in the other higher learning institutions in Beijing. Secondly, teacher training, as well as administrator's training programmes have to be strengthened. Thirdly, in order to increase the source of funds and produce suitable personnel for the minority regions, the communications between the

CUN and national minority areas had to be improved.

There was a strong demand from most of the teachers for studying national minority education. Teachers claimed that research into national minority's education in China should be more systematic, formal and scientific. There should be more investment in this study area. The government has been emphasising the importance of carrying out national minority studies, but hardly anything is being put into practice. Teachers would like to see the policies, laws and regulations related to the national minorities being implemented as they are stated in the government's documents.

As teachers from the national minority groups, they all seemed to understand totally that it is not very easy for a minority student to break through a variety of difficulties and find her/himself a place in a university. They all showed their anxiety about the future development of minority education in China.

Findings from the teachers' data

First of all, the CUN was not quite the higher learning institution the government had promised to build. Teachers were not satisfied with the teaching environment. They complained that the CUN lacked atmosphere and was short of necessary equipment. The facilities were not provided for them to create a better environment, which made it difficult to improve their teaching quality or carry out research projects. It seemed that the government was no longer encouraging the study of national minority languages, history and cultural traditions. National minority studies were fading away instead of booming, in spite of the fact that government had made promises to the national minority groups of how they were to be developed.

Secondly, language and cultural barriers were key issues. The teachers strongly appealed for bilingual education and intercultural education. They said that the most satisfaction they could possibly get was from letting their students understand in the class. This

indicated that making themselves understood was quite a problem for the teachers because of the language and cultural barriers between the national minority students and the existing curriculum. The concept of bilingual education had been misleading. It should not be interpreted as learning Chinese only. National minority members had to learn their mother tongue well in order to absorb knowledge and develop their intelligence. Intercultural education was not simply for the national minorities to adopt Chinese culture and forget their own. It was for everybody to learn each other's culture and respect each other's existence. The aspects of "equality" and importance of intercultural studies, how each culture had a negative and positive aspect to it and the importance of learning from each one was strongly emphasised by the teachers.

Thirdly, there was a strong link between national status and professionalism. These teachers were from national minority backgrounds themselves and had experienced a long journey from being poor country children to university lecturers. They understood very well how eager these students, together with their families, were in relation to getting higher education, becoming professionals and changing their social status. The families would willingly suffer financially in order to educate at least one of their children. As university teachers, all of the interviewees showed enormous concern as to how much their students actually benefited from the CUN. They could not but help but feeling responsible. They asked for better curriculum, better facilities, better management systems in order to fulfil students' as well as their parents' dreams of becoming professional, contributing to the local economy and improving economic levels.

Finally, better funding was the only solution regarding the financial crisis in the CUN according to the teachers. All the teachers wanted more investment from the government, as there were not enough funds to carry out the study of national minorities' education. They were very worried about the future of the CUN, as the government was showing quite a relaxed attitude towards the problems that the CUN is facing.

Interviews with the academic staff in the CUN confirmed most of the findings from the students. There was a strong demand for equal distribution of resources to the CUN, in

order to improve the teaching facilities and provide a better quality of higher education for the national minorities. Bilingual education was the central issue of national minorities' education.

5.5 Interviews with the Administrators

Six administrators, including two involved in policy-making from the State Education Commission (SEC), were interviewed individually. They were from four different national minority backgrounds and had at least 10 years working experiences in the field of national minorities' education. The two interviews with the administrators in the SEC took place in their offices and the rest were held in their residences. Notes were taken while the interviews were going on. Supportively, administrators provided the statements in their own hand writing to confirm the answers they gave at the interviews. The key issue to discuss was "what is the content of the government's policy related to national minorities' education?"

There was a common concern from all six that the aim of higher education for national minorities was to produce more professional personnel for the national minority areas. In order to achieve this goal, the CUN together with other higher learning institutions have to ensure that politically everybody, no matter what nationality s/he is, has equal rights to education. Secondly, the teaching quality has to be guaranteed. Thirdly, there was the need to pay attention to the cultural study of the different national minority groups. Fourthly, education should give respect to the national minorities who wish to use their own languages, writing scripts and keep their national identities. Finally, there was a real need to look after the smallest minority groups and create more opportunities for their higher education. These issues were regarded as the main aspects of the present government's policy for national minorities according to the administrators interviewed.

One of the administrators from the SEC stated that the greatest differences between the

policy towards Hans and the national minority groups were that it was very important to carry out the process of learning “Pu Tong Hua” (standard Chinese), which has to be put into local government’s educational plans. In addition, it was essential to insist on the principle that education should be considered separate from religion. He stated that because children under 18 were not allowed to study in the religious schools, parents who provide religious education to their children were prosecuted. In public schools, of course, religious activities were prohibited.

There were two questions which the administrators were particularly concerned with in relation to the special policies towards national minorities. The first question is if the content of bilingual education equals learning “Pu Tong Hua”, i.e. the language issue. Secondly, if the religious policy should only be emphasised among the national minorities, i.e. the religious issue. These two issues deserve more consideration.

5.5.1 The Language Issue

For the administrators, Han Chinese is a very important language for all citizens in China. Although the Constitution does not state what is the national language, however, among 1.2 billion populations, 1.1 billion speak Chinese, which is a reality. Therefore, everyone understandably has to learn Chinese. But on the other hand, there are five national minority autonomous regions, 30 autonomous prefectures and 121 autonomous counties. All together, these cover 60% of the country’s territory. In this respect, it is extremely essential to promote national minorities’ language in these relevant areas.

One of the administrators stated that the government would say that everything already was in its policy regarding the language issue. It was up to the people whether they wanted to learn a second language or not. In most of the provinces Chinese is the official language, and in the minority autonomous regions both the local language and Chinese are official languages. Therefore, the Han (Chinese) in these areas have choices, as do the minorities. If there is anything unfair towards the minorities, it is local governments’ fault

as they are not using their autonomous power, for central government cannot interfere.

These views made the interviewer wonder if central government would still uphold the “cannot interfere” policy to situations that did not suit its needs. For instance, if one of the official minority’s languages was used in exam papers for Han children, who live in national minority’s autonomous regions, or no jobs were available for the people who do not speak the local national minority’s language, how would the central government react?

Further more, the administrators were aware that the reality was that central government was putting lots of pressure on the national minority children. Although officially it says that children have the option of choosing any language as a medium of instruction to study, in the national minorities’ curriculum, Chinese is a compulsory subject to study together with the mother tongue and other subjects. If the students fail in the exam, s/he will be kept in the same year until s/he passed the exam. Surely, no one likes to be laughed at by fellow students implying that s/he is stupid. Therefore, they have to work hard at every subject stated in the national curriculum and “Pu Tong Hua” is always among them. It is considered as a fair process that everyone should know Chinese. What is not that easy to accept is why the Chinese who migrated into the national minorities’ areas have the liberty not to learn the local languages as that certain language is also confirmed as an official language in that particular autonomous region or county. It is not difficult to believe that the government’s bilingual education policy is only directed at the national minorities, as only learning Chinese is emphasised. It clearly is a language assimilation process, which is part of the whole national assimilation process.

One of the administrators commented that “Encouraging the national minorities to study Chinese is for their own benefit. They will have greater chances to have higher education, promotion and to have better job opportunities in any province.” The statement actually confirms that if the national minority members do not study Chinese, there will be fewer chances to have higher education, to get promotions or simply even get a job. It also confirms the traditional idea of Chinese, which was discussed in Chapter 3 (cf.pp55), if

an national minority member wants to be civilised, s/he has to speak Chinese, behave like Chinese and become Chinese.

One of the main aspects of government policy regarding national minority's education is stated as paying respect to national minorities who wish to use their mother tongue and looking after them through their higher education. How much has the State actually done about mother tongue education?

It was stated by one of the administrators that there were 30 minority languages which were recognised by the government. The State translates Chinese textbooks into the 11 main minority scripts and they have been formally used over the years. More recently, they have translated texts into another 10 minority's scripts, although this is still in the testing stage. Because of the educational budget, not every textbook available in Chinese can be translated into a minority's mother tongues. At the moment, only about 40% can be done. However, the government has promised that by the end of this century, the State would make the national minorities' textbooks follow the same steps as Chinese. (P. No.29, 1996)

40% is the official figure. It means national minorities' children can only learn 40% of the knowledge available for the Han Chinese during their school years if they wish to study in non-Han schools and try to maintain their own cultural identities. With that 40% of learning materials available in their mother tongues, they have to compete with the Han in higher education and job promotions and they are also expected to get rid of the title "backward".

What came through from these interviews was that the government is helping the national minorities to keep their national identities through the educational system, through an "allowing" policy. The government is allowing national minorities to use their languages, allowing them to keep their traditions, allowing them to believe their religions, but little is done to "promote" such thing. Indeed, in respect of religion, even "allowing" is limited, due to the communist belief in the negative influence of religion. Thus, "allowing" is

under one condition, which is that none of them should be against the government's general educational policy.

5.5.2 Religious Issues

There is not much room for people to argue about religions in China. As Holmes pointed out, the analysis of classifying multicultural policies in three categories (i.e. a. separate and equal or separate and unequal; b. assimilation; c. laisses-fair) is too simplistic. For example, no country can follow one clear-cut policy constantly in all aspects of education. Government may take one stance with language but another when it comes to religion. (Holmes, 1980)

At least, language issues are allowed to raise and allowed to be discussed in China. National minority groups have a certain right to educate themselves in their mother tongue. Officially, the government has to give way to the national minorities regarding languages. However, in terms of religious education, this is prohibited in the educational field. If it is only the national minorities who have religious beliefs, then it would be fair to include religious restrictions in the policy towards minority groups. The fact is that there are a fair number of Chinese who have religious belief of some kinds. Why then does the policy of religious belief pinpoint the national minority groups only? What then is implied by “equally”?

One of the administrators stated that inequality exists in reality and that is why it has to be clearly stated in the Constitution that “all the nationalities are equal”. If it did exist, it would not be necessary to have it mentioned in the Constitution and government would not have to promote equality.

Obviously, when this administrator said “reality”, he refers to the situation among the ordinary people. He perhaps failed to understand that it is the government itself that is behaving unfairly to national minority people. Indeed, inequality exists in reality,

including the governments' policy. The policy shows that when the government forms its special policy towards national minority groups, it only takes one thing into consideration, i.e. national unity. It is a threat that national minorities often gather in their holy places and quite often that other group members are not included in their gathering. Therefore, there is a higher risk that a national minority group may organise uprisings against the Chinese government. Being sensitive about religions also indicates that the government is not happy with the religious beliefs among the people. As a Communist government in a socialist country, it should be Marxism and Leninism promoted not Buddhism or Islam.

In relations to above two issues, namely language and religion, one of the administrators put the discussion further. From a smaller national minority group, he suggested the compilation of a guide book of general knowledge regarding the 55 national minorities to be placed in the national curriculum in order to achieve a better understanding and mutual respect among all the nationalities. He also suggests to all the national minorities not only learn Chinese and become bilingual, but also to try to learn one of the other foreign languages, become trilingual in order to empower themselves and be competitive. His opinion on bilingual education placed great importance on fluency in the mother tongue languages in relation to national consciousness as a key to achieving a greater quality of life.

Related to the government's next step in improving the national minorities' education, one of the administrators from the SEC described the government's plan as:

- 1) Teaching material development. 60% of textbooks and teaching materials, are still not translated into national minority languages;
- 2) Teacher training, especially bilingual teacher training;
- 3) Improving teaching equipment;
- 4) Strengthening school management and training more higher level educational administrators;
- 5) Promoting the significance of education in minorities' areas;

6) Financially, the government's budget for national minority education is 800 million Yuan. After 1998, it will be increased to 1 billion Yuan and it will be mainly used on developing education in national minority's autonomous regions and counties. Apart from that, the central government gives 20 million Yuan especially for the minority's educational needs.

Item 1) to 5) are the promises, which people hear all the time and rarely see implemented. As usual, there is no detail attached to them. For example, people are never clear how teaching quality is going to be improved or how the management is going to be strengthened.

Nevertheless, item 6) gives the detail. It sounds very promising, 1 billion Yuan for the year 1998. However, if 1 billion is divided by 110 million, which is the total population of national minority members, there will be 9 Yuan per head, which is equivalent to US\$1.00 for the whole year's education. National minorities are expected to improve their educational level with an extra budget of US\$1.00 per head, including the cost of translating the textbook and national minorities' teachers training.

5.5.3 Findings from the administrators' data

The first interviews with the administrators helped to find out the government version of the role of education. It was clearly stated that the role of higher learning institutions like the CUN was to create socialist builders and successors. In the present situation, it is called professional personnel rather than anything with too many political colours.

The second discovery is the real meaning of bilingual education. Bilingual education is only emphasised amongst the national minority groups. Although it is not stated in the constitution that national minority members have to learn "Pu Tong Hua", it is in the curriculum and is compulsory. What is more, bilingual education does not apply to the Han who migrated to a national minority autonomous region, where one of the national

minorities' languages is also official. The government itself is promoting inequality by behaving unfairly.

Regarding the religious issues, the government yet again behaves unfairly to the national minorities as religious restrictions are concentrated on the national minority people, in spite of the fact that millions of Han Chinese have religious beliefs of all kinds. As a result of the government's ignorance, Falun Kong (New religious sects among the Han) followers reached to approximately 100 million⁶ in 1999, (which is 40 million more than the CCP members), before the government actually realised and banned Falun Kong nation-wide. (BBC news, 22 July, 1999)

The fourth discovery was that the "United Front" was still domineering people's mind. The CCP successfully came to power in 1949 by using the slogan "United Front", which is a part of the Chinese concept of nationalism. (See p105) Now this slogan is continuously used by the government to control the national minorities in China, while it is no longer used to control the majority Han.

5.6 Implication of the Pilot Study

Generally speaking, the field study, which took place from April to May 1996 was quite informative. During this period, 33 people from 11 different nationalities were interviewed. Surprisingly, most of the interviewees were quite open and dared to relate their honest opinions rather than mimicking the same tune as the papers tell the public, although some of the students didn't want their names mentioned. Most of the teachers showed enthusiasm, some of them even expressed how much they admired the people who actually had the opportunity to do this kind of research as they wanted to do so but were restricted by the situation. Therefore they were very keen to see and eager to help any research which related to the national minorities education question in China. As a

⁶ Among national minorities, there are approximately 18 millions Muslim and 10 millions Buddhist.

result, the answers from the interviews were probably quite close to their own true feelings.

The field study confirmed the research issue that intercultural education is in need in China. For almost the last nearly half of the century, the national minorities in China have been developing in a direction which leads to nothing but assimilation, while the main trend for much of the rest of the whole world is developing towards pluralism.

The field study was guided by the frame work described earlier in this chapter-- the role of education; cultural diversity and political uniformity, and the Chinese concept of nationalism and national minorities. Higher learning institutions for the national minorities, like the CUN, play pro-active roles in social change process. In other words, they are the agents of the government to bring about wider changes among the national minorities in China. On the other hand, these institutions also play reactive roles, which means they are at best mere reflections of the government's policies towards national minorities because they perform the function of reproducing the existing social order and structure.

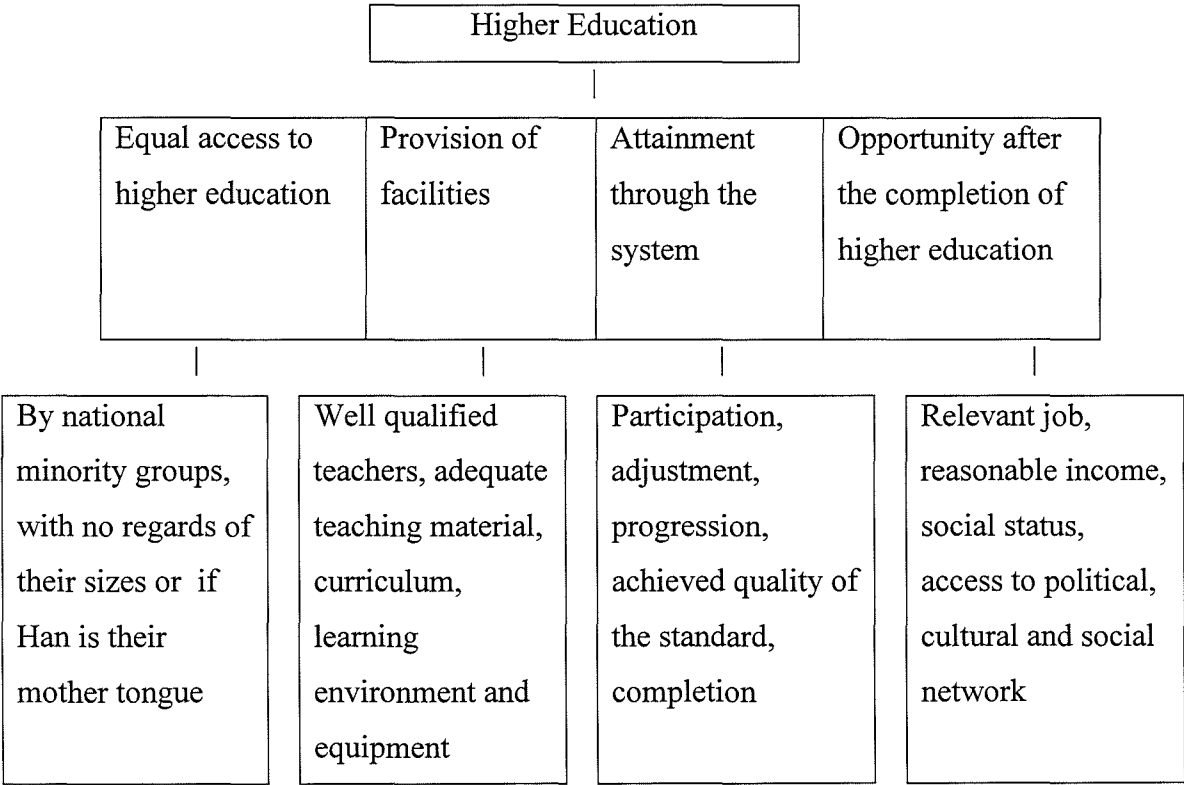
The field study provided a chance to re-look at the main research question: what have been the enduring features of Chinese policies, especially educational policies towards national minorities, and in fact the main purpose of the field work was to find this out. All the questions compiled for the interviewees and answered by them during the field study were based on the main research question, featuring policy interpretations and implementations, policy outcomes, and the role of higher learning institutions for the national minorities like the CUN.

The field work undertaken answered a question regarding the research method, i.e. the historical aspects worked well with the survey study. As it is a study of a government's educational policies towards national minority groups, it had to identify the different policies in different periods and how the present policy has developed. Therefore, a historical method was applied, in Chapters Two, Three and Four. During the field study,

the main research instruments were semi-structured interviews, observations, and data from published statistics and the use of translation. The semi-structured interviews provided certain flexibility in getting information from students, teachers and administrators, as they are in a variety of positions. The field notes of informal talks and observations have confirmed many of the findings from the interviews. The main difficulty of the field study was the language translation. Because all of the data including interviews notes, statements made by interviewees, published documents and literatures were in Chinese, and needed to be translated into English without bias, it was not only difficult but also extremely time consuming.

The main findings of the pilot study are shown in **Figure 5.1**.

Figure 5.1 Higher education as expected by people in the CUN



The findings shown there can be generalised as follows:

First, access to higher education is the first and important step for the national minorities. Some of the national minorities seem to have a better chance of higher education than the others, simply because they have been assimilated by the Han already or their mother tongue is the same as the majority Han, as is the case for the Hui and Manchus. According to the pilot study, national minorities want the same access to higher education not only as the Han, and also groups like the Hui and Manchu.

The second point from the pilot study is the demand for equal distribution of resources to the CUN. The Teaching facilities, well-trained teachers and better curriculum are the bases for such quality improvement. There is a lack of diversity in materials and current requirements of the curriculum do not allow for any opportunities to deviate from the set text books.

The third point is that national minorities expected to participate in the higher educational system, specifically in relation to its management; to ensure progress and achieve the same standard as is found in other higher learning institutions in China.

Finally, the pilot study confirmed that national minorities expected to have equal opportunities in relation to jobs, promotion, and access to political, cultural and social networks after they have successfully completed their studies in the CUN. They simply wish to compete on equal terms when they join the work force.

The pilot study was part of the preparation of the main fieldwork, which has ensured that the research methods, research instruments (such as semi-structured interview) and sampling frames (such as students, teachers and administrators) chosen for the fieldwork would work.

This chapter has concentrated on this pilot study, analysing the data from the interviewee, (students, teachers and administrators), the notes made by the interviewer and the

statements written by the interviewees. The pilot study also established that the research tools chosen were appropriate for the data required, forming the basis for the main field study, detailed in the next chapter.

The next chapter examines the data collected on the second visit to the field, before observing the published statistics, research periodicals and official documents related to the research questions. This preliminary analysis further developed in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MAIN FIELD STUDY

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Five discussed the pilot study carried out at the CUN. It provided the general background of the field study and led to further discussion about Chinese policy towards national minorities in China. This Chapter is based on the second visit to the field. It is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the method of data collection. It answers the questions of what was done and how it was done during the fieldwork. The second section is devoted to a systematic survey of the opinions regarding the government's policy towards the national minority groups which were contributed by the participants. Simple statistical methods such as mean and frequencies are used to support the findings.

The pilot study resulted in certain changes to the original conceptual framework. It clarified the main research problem and research questions, and confirmed that "interviews" would be the main research instrument for data collection, because interviews allowed the researcher access to past events and to situations which the researcher was not able to be present at. In addition to the main instrument- interviews, a small questionnaire was used, small due to the limits of time, space and budget. This questionnaire was used on graduates and students who were not available on the CUN campus.

Samples for this stage of the study were drawn from the CUN students from year 1-4, teachers, administrators, the parents of the CUN students, as well as the CUN graduates presently working in different fields. Assorted national minority group members were chosen for both questionnaire and interviews in order to obtain information regarding the

present educational policy towards the whole range of national minority groups in China.

The research plan, which included the semi-structured interview questions and questionnaire, was originally drafted in English. As Chinese is the official language in the field, every relevant paper had to be translated into Chinese before it was presented to the participants. As a result, all the data collected from the field, including the field notes, came back in Chinese, which means that the data presented in this chapter were translations of the original Chinese versions. Nevertheless, the translations have been checked by a second person and are as close as possible to the original versions.

Based on the results of first pilot study, the content of the interviews and questionnaire are categorised as national identity versus national uniformity; policy formulation versus implementation; maintaining identity versus modernisation and job aspiration and educational qualifications. The outline of the fieldwork plan is presented as **Table 6.1**

In the event, due to the limits of time and space, the fieldwork comprised fifteen interviews, two with students, six with parents and seven with academic staff. Fifty copies of the questionnaire were distributed and thirty-eight of them were returned. In total, fifty-three people participated and five key persons who are regarded as experts in the field of nationality study in China made an important contribution.

The information first obtained from the participant students and graduates concerned their age, sex, nationality, religious belief, subject of study, parent's education and occupation, monthly income and the city or county of their residence. The purpose of putting background information in the questionnaire was to obtain information about the socio-economic status and national background of the students/graduates.

Table 6.1 The plan of the fieldwork

INSTRUMENT	QUESTIONNAIRE	INTERVIEW	DOCUMENTS
SAMPLES	50 STUDENTS & 35 GRADUATES	5 STUDENTS , 5 GRADUATES, 10 TEACHERS / ADMINISTRATR. 10 PARENTS	PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS & STATISTICS
CONTENTS			
National identity Vs national uniformity: <i>--languages</i> <i>--scripts</i> <i>--religions</i> <i>--customs</i> <i>--residence</i>	X	X	X
Policy formulation Vs implementation <i>--entrance exam</i> <i>--scholarship</i> <i>--curriculum</i> <i>--teacher's training</i> <i>--teaching method</i> <i>--leadership</i> <i>--finance</i> <i>--management</i> <i>--research</i>	X	X	X
Maintaining identity Vs modernisation <i>--definitions of modernisation</i> <i>--social process of modernisation</i> <i>--discrimination as a key factor</i> <i>--unequal development of the areas</i> <i>--assimilation</i>	X	X	X
Job aspirations and educational: qualification <i>--minorities status</i> <i>--value of profession</i> <i>--role of higher Ed .</i> <i>--expectation</i>	X	X	X

X = where a selected instrument is used for the studies

In addition to the background information, students and graduates were asked:

- What is the main reason for you to choose the CUN?
- What do you expect to get from the CUN by the time you finish your study?
- Do you think the CUN is meeting your expectations?
- Do you think your national identity has been influenced since you left your home town?
- Are you happy with the system of the CUN?
- Do you think becoming modernised and maintaining national identity are contradictory?
- Do you think that discrimination against national minorities still exists?
- What are your plans after graduation? /To the graduates: What do you do?

The purpose of using such a questionnaire was to discover how the national minority students felt about the present educational system, which was specially designed for them by the government, and to learn their feelings regarding personal worth, ability and self-confidence. It sought to build on the main finding of the first pilot study which was that Chinese policy towards national minorities was continually following one central line, i.e. assimilation.

Simple analytical method (such as mean) was used to analysed the data from questionnaire and the convention of which is shown in **Appendix 8**.

The interviews with the students, parents and academic staff consisted of four parts. Part 1 was designed to find out how the participants considered national minority groups' national identity and the government's idea of national uniformity. Language, religion, custom, tradition and other aspects were the subject of close review. Part 2 dealt with the government's policy formulation and implementation process. Curriculum, teaching method, management, finance together with other aspects were discussed under this topic. Part 3 concentrated on the issue of whether national identity can survive the challenge of the modernisation process. The issues of discrimination, inequality and definition of modernisation were discussed. Part 4 dealt especially with job aspirations and educational qualifications. In this part, national minorities' status, and the value that

students placed on professionalism and their expectations of higher education were the areas concentrated on.

Details of the field survey are in the next section of this chapter. It attempts to analyse what the educational policy for national minorities is and how it is seen through the eyes of national minority students, parents, teachers and experts. The organisation of the rest of the chapter is based on a detailed examination of each of the four categories already identified earlier, namely:

- National identity versus national uniformity
- Policy formulation versus implementation
- Maintaining identity versus modernisation
- Job aspiration and educational qualification

The analysis of the fieldwork is followed by a conclusion.

6.2 National Identity versus National Uniformity

The main problem confronting the Chinese government is to achieve political unity while allowing for cultural diversity. Since 1949, the present government has had to grapple with this formidable task. Obviously, it is difficult to harmonise the almost contradictory demands of cultural diversity and political unity, an issue discussed in more detail in Chapter Three. Thus, one of the questions asked to the students and graduates was “To what extent do you think that your national identity has been influenced by the Han’s culture since you left your home town?” (See **Table 6.2**)

21 respondents answered this question, as 6 other people responded that their national identities had already changed before they entered the CUN. The mean score, 2.9, is close to “3”, which indicates that to some extent their national identities were influenced by Chinese culture since they had arrived at the CUN.

Table 6.2

To what extent do you think that your national identity has been influenced by the Han's culture since you left your home town? (No. 21)

	Great extent	some extent	very little	not at all	
	I-----I	I-----I	I-----I	I-----I	
Score	4	3	2	1	
Number of					
Respondents	7	7	5	2	Total : 21

The mean scores 2.9, which close to 3, i.e. to some extent

As was mentioned in Chapter One, the national concept in China is seldom a matter of race, which one can identify from the colour of skin, colour of hair or eyes. Nationalities in China can usually be identified by culture, which includes language, religion, custom and tradition. In other words, the question of maintaining one's national identity very much depends on one's culture being maintained.

Related to this issue, one of the key interviewees, Professor H from the CUN, who also represents government officials, said:

National identities are related to one's cultural tradition, and there are both advantages and disadvantages in a nation's cultural tradition. Therefore, it should not be that painful to lose those parts of one's the identity which are regarded as disadvantages.

(P. No.82, 1997)

In his statement, he did not clarify what he regarded as disadvantages in the national minority's culture. It leaves a question mark here as to whose definition of advantages or

disadvantages is taken into account. As language, religion and tradition are the main elements of national identity, it is essential to look at some other points of view made by national minority members i.e. if it is painful to lose a certain amount of identity.

A parent of a present student also is a graduate of the CUN in 1950s, said:

I spent all my life working for the Communist. Being a Muslim, I couldn't even go to the mosque while I was working. I retired two years ago and thought it shouldn't be a problem for me to go to the mosque once a week. Unfortunately, after a few weeks I was called by my working unit where I get my pension. I was ordered not to go to the mosque any more or let the mosque pay me the pension in future. I was accused of being a bad example to others. I found it was extremely cruel and painful.

(P. No. 76, 1997)

A Korean female student revealed her story.

One day, a friend of mine and I decided to go sightseeing. We both put on our national costume--Korean dress and we were off. As soon as we got on to the bus, we realised what a terrible mistake we had made by putting on our national costume. All the attention was around us. Everybody was staring at us and whispering to each other "Look, Korean", "Korean". While we were walking on the street, it was exactly the same. People kept pointing at us and shouting, "Look, Korean." The most unbearable moment was when two grown-up men came next to us and teased us "Amani, amani", which is a Korean word means "Mummy", you hear it a lot in any Chinese film with a story related to the Korean War. Our national costume made us feel like a pair of animals from the zoo that day. Since then, I decided not to wear my national costume in Beijing any more, which I found hurtful.

(P. No. 39, 1997)

Mr. E, an Uyghur lecturer of the CUN said that he always tries to remember to wear a CUN school badge whenever he needs to go out. Otherwise he would be mistaken for a small trader from Xinjiang, often insulted as "Shish-Kebab", as it was the Uyghur traders who introduced kebabs to the Chinese. He said:

People do not always notice me from my appearance. I normally draw attention if I am with another Uyghur and people passing by us overhear us talking in a different language. There were a few times that they (Han) noticed my CUN school badge and changed their tune, which made me feel quite relieved on the one hand but feeling bitter on the other.

(P. No. 21, 1996)

These three incidents provided by three different people indicates that it is not that easy for national minorities to maintain their identities without suffering. Their own languages, religious beliefs and traditional costumes are important part of their lives.

In confirmation of this, a professor claimed that language was a very complicated subject. Unlike other traditional habits, languages can not be dropped instantly, especially among bigger minority groups like the Uyghurs, Tibetans and Mongolians. The government's policy is to promote bilingual education in areas which national minority groups are concentrated. However, the dominant national language, which is Chinese, has to be the mainstream. He said "*Gradually all the smaller groups' language will die away. It is a natural law of history's development and no one would be able to prevent it.*" (P. No. 82, 1997)

He gave some examples to support his view relating to the "*natural law*". Indonesia, he said, had assimilated more than a hundred national groups over the years and only one language was being used officially at present. Turkey did not allow any minority group to publish articles even though those groups use a Turkic language which was very similar to the official one. The United States was a mixture of almost every nation of the world, yet, English had to be the only official language. He concluded "*Apparently a single language system does help the national economy and it is the trend of future development*". (P. No. 82, 1997)

This position raises questions. If the change of culture is such an irresistible social phenomenon, why does the government never say it openly to the national minority

groups that sooner or later your languages and cultures will all be assimilated, because that is the natural phenomenon? Instead, the government has put on a mask and keeps promising people that the government will help every nationality enjoy an equal right to maintain its own culture, to use its own language and to keep its own traditions.

Professor H came up with the following answer:

It is better to let the minority groups' languages die away naturally rather than change them over night. It is more acceptable if people think they are looked after. Some of our policy implementers do not sense that forcing can only damage the relationship between the Han and the national minority groups. It can only create more difficulties. The solution is to persuade. It will be easier to control, and what is more, conflicts will be avoided. How did the CCP win the civil war and come to power in 1949? It is because the CCP formed a most popular policy towards national minorities, together with other policies. It persuaded many senior members of Chinese Nationalist Party and national minority groups' leaders to organise uprisings all over the country, thus, the CCP formed the new China without many difficulties."

(P. No. 82, 1997)

The message is clear. The best way to achieve what the government wants is to persuade. The CCP successfully came to power in 1949 by promising national minority groups' political participation, regional autonomy, local economic development and life style improvement. In one word, it would be different than the previous government's policy regarding the national minority issue. The government successfully persuaded national minority armies to give up weapons, persuaded national minority people to accept new local government joined (later led) by the CCP, persuaded minority people to welcome millions of Han immigrants to the national minorities' areas as they came to help to develop local economy, and now is persuading national groups to give up their national identities and be assimilated gradually. Indeed, it has been working perfectly in a persuasive way.

Related to Professor H's claim made earlier that the language of the main stream will

replace the others, the following question was asked to Professor M, a language specialist. "What is going to happen to Chinese (Han) script and isn't there a risk that Chinese ideograms will be replaced by the Latin alphabet one day, as Latin alphabet is the main stream used in today's international communication?" Professor M, a Chinese linguist, assumed that the Chinese writing script had its own advantages. Each single character expresses at least one meaning, though it does not indicate the sound of it. However, Latin letters indicate the sound of a word and that is why one can learn to read more easily, but there is no meaning in the letter itself. He said:

According to a study, it takes on average 9 years of school education for an English child to understand "The Times", newspaper, but it does not require more than 9 years before a Chinese boy is able to read and understand any newspaper in Chinese. In Western countries, school education is from easy to difficult, and it is from difficult to easy in China. I mean the language study here. Therefore, it is quite hard to say which writing is more advanced than the other. Further more, it is very difficult to switch off one's own writing and adopt another one completely.

(P. No. 84, 1997)

Professor M also claimed that it was extremely difficult to change one nation's mother tongue and expect people to adopt another language just because that language is the mainstream. Practically speaking, linguistics and the writing of Chinese are both very important for national minorities to learn, because of the obvious reason that the Han are the majority in the country and Han Chinese is the main language. But the question arises as to how much minority group members need to know about Chinese in order to get on with their lives without too much trouble.

Professor M thought that it was not easy for any body to adopt any second language, and it was even more difficult to learn Chinese because Chinese, especially the writing was probably the most complicated script in the world. "In my opinion," he said,

Most of the people from national minority backgrounds should not be expected to speak or write Chinese like a Han. I am saying this because

that is exactly what's happening in reality, including control of higher education enrolment and job recruitment, the more Chinese you know, the better prospects with no regard to how much it is actually needed. I think it is absolutely necessary for someone to be literate in one's mother tongue, otherwise to maintain national minorities' culture would be pointless. Also I have learned from 40 years teaching experience that the better one knows one's mother tongue, the better one learns the second language.

(P. No. 84, 1997)

According to professor M, it was a growing concern in China (also a common view among the interviewees) that the government should only encourage a certain percentage of the national minorities to study in Chinese, only as much as their jobs require. The rest, presumably around 70% of the group members, should be encouraged to spend more time on professional or technical training in their own language, which is more practical improving their life style, rather than wasting their time on trying to be a better Chinese speaker. In reality, 95% of them will end up living in their own areas, where their mother tongue is used and where it should be continuously popularised. It is wrong to discourage them from using their own languages, as by doing that, the government will create more illiterate people, just as happened in Yunnan and Guizhou province. (An issue discussed in more detailed in Chapter Five)

However, as was indicated in Chapter Five, according to one administrator from the SEC, only 40% of the textbooks are available in national minority languages. If national minorities want to educate themselves and become professional, 40% of available material is not enough. They have to find access to the rest of it. Therefore, they are left with no choice but to study Chinese from an early age, or even consider giving up non-Han schools and studying in Han schools right from the beginning.

Regarding one's cultural tradition, the professor M's opinion was that there were no traditions which would stay forever. Sooner or later a new tradition would replace the older one. For instance, Islam came to the Northwest part of China which was a Buddhist dominant area approximately 700 years ago and now most of the people in the Northwest

are Muslim. Also, Manchus were identifiable 100 years ago while the last emperor still existed. However no one can now tell the difference if a Manchu stands next to a Han. The reasons for this are because Manchus don't wear their costumes any more and Chinese has become their mother tongue. Therefore, the conclusion is that a certain national identity just represents a certain period of a nation's history, it has to follow the mainstream and fade away. Naturally smaller groups will disappear faster than the larger one.

The experts' opinion confirmed that the assimilation process has been going on in China for a long time. In the Manchu's case, there are no longer any real Manchus existing. Manchu as a national minority group that has already been assimilated. What is left now is an empty shell of Manchu nationality, which only serves the government's purpose of letting people believe that it is still there. The next nationality to be assimilated by Han is on its way. Sooner or later, it seems to be intended that all the national minorities within Chinese territory will be assimilated. It is just a matter of time. It starts from smaller to bigger. (Professors H and M) What can be drawn from these expert opinions is that in an ideal world, there would be only Communist minded Chinese living. Then there would not be any issue of national identity versus national uniformity to argue about.

6.3 Policy Formulation versus Implementation

Equality in education in China is not absolute, because of the special position of the Han nationality. (P.No. 83) The government implicitly admits that there is some inequality between the Han and the rest of the nationalities in the country, because the government has established various higher learning institutions for the non-Han native speakers like the CUN. The aim is to solve inequality problems by using special education measures, which include different criteria of enrolment, curriculum, scholarship and teaching methods. This is welcomed by the students as well as by their parents as they think that this can lead to easier access to higher education which could then lead to a higher social

status.

In order to find out from the students how satisfactory the CUN is, the graduates and students were asked if they were happy with the system in the CUN regarding the entrance exam, scholarships, curriculum, teaching methods and management. Out of 38 people, between 29 answered the question as **Table 6.3** shows.

Table 6.3: Are you happy with the school system of the CUN relating to the following factors: (No. 29)

Factors:	Number of Responses			TOTAL
	YES	NO	NOT SURE	
1.entrance exam	19	5	5	29
2.scholarship	12	9	8	29
3.curriculum	5	19	5	29
4.teaching method	5	19	5	29
5.administration	7	17	5	29

These results demonstrate that the enrolment and scholarship systems in the CUN are more satisfactory than the teaching methods, teaching materials and teaching equipment. Most of the students complained about the bad management of public facilities and the semi-qualified teachers who teach in the classes. The graduates complained about the amount of time they had to spend on studying Marxism and socialist theories no matter what majored in, which they found a complete “waste of energy”. They wish they had learned something more useful and practical like computer skills or English for today's jobs, instead of what are called “empty politics”. But it was compulsory and they were left with no choice. The present students have the same feelings about the politics that they have to study. They say they only continue doing it because of the exams for if they fail in politics they will not get their diploma.

It was the same situation they faced at primary school, the students claimed. If they failed of Chinese language, they were not be upgraded. (Chapter Five) Therefore, it is not difficult to see that the policy towards national minorities regarding primary education is to produce Chinese people, and for higher education is to produce Chinese people with Communist minds. The CUN is not just a place provided for the national minorities to obtain their higher education, but more importantly is designed to provide socialist education and produce modern Chinese citizens.

Professor M as a member of a national minority is worried that the existing low priority given to the national minority students will soon be taken away. He said:

What I can see now is a tendency that some people try to compare the CUN with other key universities of the country and keep raising the criteria for enrolment. They are constantly adopting the teaching materials directly from other universities, changing the special scholarship system and demanding that students should fit into the teachers requirement rather than teachers trying to fit into the class.

(P. No. 84, 1997)

Professor M used the term “some people”. What he can not see is what is behind “some people”. As other academic staff in the CUN (Chapter Five) had already mentioned, it is the government’s “Binggui” policy, which leads to less funds being made available for national minority education studies and the scholarship system being changed. The criteria for enrolment has risen because the government intends to push national minorities to educate their children in Han Schools from an early age, as the only access to increased learning opportunity is by studying Chinese.

Professor. M also stated:

As far as I am concerned it is not a realistic way to compete with those key universities as student's backgrounds are so different. Otherwise, the CUN will lose its character. In my opinion, the CUN should try to attract

more national minority students by increasing university scholarship opportunities, lowering the criteria of enrolment, more importantly, improving teaching methods and managing skills. Then the CUN will be able to help more national minority people participate in the modernisation process."

(P. No. 84, 1997)

Professor M suggestions about teaching and management skills improvement within the CUN support the finding from the pilot study that the CUN is not really providing what it should be providing for the national minority students.

Professor Z claims that it was not enough just to have a beautifully framed policy. As a member of a national minority, he stated:

I would like to see a good policy come from the government and stated on paper, which ensures that there is a resource if one needs to make a search. But is it enough just to have a policy formed? If the policy is not implemented as stated, the policy will be an empty frame, and unfortunately that is how it has been. The government's policy to the national minority groups is basically about equality, but we never know what will happen to the person who behaves otherwise.

(P. No. 85, 1997)

Professor Z's comment indicates that there is no specific detail attached to the policy regarding implementation. As far as Professor Z is concerned, whether a policy is implemented as stated very much depends on the person who deals with the implementation process, and most of the people who are in that position are the Han with very traditional ideas.

Professor Z's opinion confirmed that "Middle Kingdom" theory, the traditional Chinese idea, is still dominating the Han's attitude towards national minorities. The Han have 5000 years of history. For more than 2000 years the Han have been expanding their territory to the north, west and south by swallowing neighbours and trying to assimilate the different national minority groups. During its expansion, the Han learned and adopted

many techniques from the people who were conquered. Although there were some cases when national minorities (like Mongolian and Manchu) happened to be the ruler of the whole country, the Han remained the winner in most historical periods. These victories encouraged the Han's superior attitude. They claimed themselves as the only civilised nation, the centre of the world, the "middle kingdom". Therefore only the Han was capable of assimilating other national minority groups. All groups other than the Han were naturally regarded as backward and incapable nations. This idea is rooted so deeply in their mind that even today nothing can make them change it.

Professor H supported Professor Z's opinion that the government's policy toward the national minorities is beneficial, (regardless it emphasised on assimilation) as the policy appealed for equal opportunity for all groups. The fundamental reason why there is so much discrimination against national minorities (and one can hardly list them all) is stated by him as *"the problem is not the policy itself, the real problems come from policy implementation."* (P. No. 82, 1997)

Professor H also said that the persons who are actually in charge of the implementation process are too varied. Many of them have a lack of understanding or are just ignorant. For instance, it is quite a common view among the local governors that China should force all the different minority groups to use the Han language only. Local governments are the people who have to finance any translation, But they often claim that an enormous amount of money could have been saved if only they didn't have to translate the text books, the documents, or the newspapers. These local governors suggest unifying the language and abolishing all the educational materials of the minorities overnight, and that schools should use Han only as the medium of instruction. *"You might call these people 'chauvinist'",* he said, *"In fact, most of them are not. At least they don't realise they are behaving like that. They are simply too ignorant and have a lack of education. It is to do with their social background, which is caused by history."* (P. No. 82, 1997)

Government officials are probably quite aware of what is actually happening to the policy formed by them. It is pretty clear to them that formulation is one thing and

implementation is another. They are simply laying back and allowing the situation to develop in the direction it has always done. If national minorities do not wish to be treated unequally, the only option left is to join the majority group—Han, by speaking Chinese, dressing up like Chinese and getting rid of religious beliefs, in another word, becoming assimilated. It is not the formulated policies which are causing all the problems because the policies are good.

Professor H presumed that the government's policy towards national minorities could not be implemented precisely until the whole national cultural level reached a certain standard. He pointed out that the general quality of the Chinese nation has not reached that high level yet and that is where the problems come from. China has 5000 years of history and everything we see today is related to the past. *"Never mind about the policy towards the national minorities, he said:*

Why can't we have more democracy like other countries such as Singapore? Why does everything have to be so restricted in this country? This is because our foundations are too poor. For instance, if you ask a 50 year old country woman to elect a president for the country, she probably chooses to vote for her son, because she is not educated enough to understand what should be the criteria of being the country's president. In her little mind, her son is the best of everything. Therefore, the conclusion is: without improving the cultural level nation-wide and before it reaches to a certain standard, nothing can be improved in this country, including the national minorities' policy and its implementation process."

(P. No. 82, 1997)

One rational conclusion that can be drawn from Professor H's remark is that the policy and attitude towards national minorities in any country can be one of the criterion by which to judge how civilised that country actually is. However, it is quite a contradictory theory for Chinese to question who they are and how they are, and how to approach this matter. On the one hand, they look at national minorities as backward and uncivilised nations and therefore they are determined to assimilate them in order to modernise them. But on the other hand, they are not so sure about themselves as they do not even assume

that they are qualified for more democracy and deserve more human rights, despite seeing themselves as the representatives of civilisation.

Many scholars in China claim that it is very difficult for the CCP to change the situation in a short period. As the world can see, the CCP has itself experienced continual political movements ever since the party was established. Not only the national minorities, the Han themselves needed to improve their cultural level. Therefore, it is hard to expect that policy implementers deliver the policies to the ordinary people without making mistakes. If we look at some other policy implementation other than the policy about national minorities, we will see the same ignorance. Take an example, which is known to almost every adult in China. In 1958, the Great Leap Forward period, the central government set up a new goal for grain and steel production. Instead of building modern mills, local government called for backyard steel furnaces tended by farmers. People in the end had to contribute metal household implements for these furnaces. The result was that none of these metals could be used, which was a complete waste of time and energy. More importantly, agricultural development was strongly affected. This was caused by human error, which was based on ignorance. Unfortunately the situation can not be changed in the near future. If the policy towards national groups can ever be implemented precisely as it shows, it would only be when the whole nation's cultural level reaches a certain level.

6.4 Maintaining Identity versus Modernisation

Since the beginning of 1980, China has launched her socialist modernisation drive at full speed. The whole country is undergoing the most rapid and stupendous socio-economic and cultural change. National minority areas are also changing rapidly. However, new problems arise together with the new achievements. Ethnologists face new challenges, such as the correct handling of the relations between economic development and cultural-ecological environment; the exploitation of natural resources and participation of

minority people; the universalising of education and professional training, the obstruction caused by the vestiges of the old socio-economic system to the development of new productive forces and the establishment of a Socialist market economy. All in one, however, the main issue to tackle is the conflict between traditional culture and modernisation.

When the students and graduates were asked in the questionnaire: "Do you think becoming modernised and maintaining national identity are contradictory?" 9 of the 27 people responded "Yes", 15 people responded "No" and 3 people responded "It depends". According to most of the students, it is possible to maintain one's national identity while becoming modernised. Upholding one's culture should not stop the modernisation process. However, 9 out of 27 answered "No", which stands as one third of the total. It indicates that a fair amount of students actually believe that to a certain extent the modernisation process will make them loose their national identity.

Professor S gave his definition of Chinese modernisation. He said:

In the Chinese modernisation process, national minorities have to be included. Modernisation does not imply assimilation, or to westernisation. Modernisation among the national groups should be at the same level as the Han. National minority groups first of all have to catch up with the Han. As we know socio-economic developments among most of the national minority groups are at different levels and much lower than the Han. Then together with the Han, national groups will catch up and reach the Western countries' developing level."

(P. No. 83, 1997)

Professor S clearly pointed out that modernisation does not equal assimilation and national minorities have to catch up with the Han before they move any further. However, from the government's point of view, national minorities can only catch up with the Han by becoming Han. For instance, if national minorities wish to have access to higher education, become professional or skilled, the first step that they have to take is to become fluent in Chinese. In order to be extremely good in Chinese, the very best thing

they have to do is to start early, i.e. give up the school that teaches in their mother tongue and join the Han's, where the only subject available is Chinese culture. It is probably difficult to see the changes from one generation's viewpoint. Loosing identity is a slow process as the Chinese policy is to "persuade". Like Professor H stated *"let the minority groups' language die away naturally"*

Opposing popular student's opinion, Professor H openly believed that it was contradictory to maintain national identity while becoming modern, because national identity is related to a nation's cultural traditions and there are lots of disadvantages to tradition. If one wants to be modernised, one has to get rid of the old traditions. He gives some examples. *"I am Hui,"* he said, *"and we are Muslim. One of my national identities is to believe in Islam. According to the Koran, one man is allowed to have four wives at a time. As you know this is absolutely unacceptable by modern society as it is against women's wishes. Then here is the dilemma: whether to stick to identity totally or to reform yourself and become a modernised Hui."* (P. No. 82, 1997)

Professor H also raised this issue saying is no longer related to the today's Muslims in China. As soon as the CCP came to power in 1949, its constitution stated that marriage in China involved one man and one woman. There has been no multiple marriage in any part of the country ever since. No one is demanding that this old tradition should come back.

It is surely appropriate to say that we ought to look at traditional culture, to see if it is against social development or if it is affecting economic productivity. Being religious doesn't imply ignorance. Many leading scientists have their religious beliefs and still make great contributions in their research fields. Islam itself contains lots of scientific theories related to astronomy, medicine, legislation and so on. (Professor Z) The bottom line here is that we have to find out the useful and worthwhile aspects of our cultural traditions. Instead of giving them up totally, what should be watched out for is that type of reform that seeks to abolish the whole culture belonging to national minorities.

Professor M claimed that national identity versus modernisation was a very hot topic in China at the moment and also a quite sensitive subject too. In his view, government should include more national minorities in the discussions about maintaining national identity and becoming modern. In his work he has found that a lot of national minorities feel it is quite offensive to hear the word "modernisation", when the government calls for reforming national minority groups' old traditions or religious habits in order to fit the whole modernisation process. It is certainly worrying the national minority groups.

In support of this, Professor T claimed that government was manipulating the people's wishes. The basic demand of national minorities is to live a better life. People experience too much poverty and long for a change. It seems very clear to everybody that in order to improve the quality of living, one has to empower oneself with modern science and technology. In China's situation, the government is used to making people believe that they have to start with learning Chinese. Only then, it is argued, will national minorities have a better chance of gaining higher education, and further, becoming modernised. Also, they have to start losing certain religious beliefs, otherwise, they will be accused of not being modern. It was a view also put forward by the students. As one of them said "*We are questioned about our national costume, "It looks so old fashioned". "Still bothered with national festival events?" "Why not go to 'Karaoke' or discotheques instead". The more one loses one's national identity the better.* (P. No 40, 1997)

Professor T argued:

People will choose a suitable way of living automatically. The old tradition will gradually be replaced by a new one. Government does not have to tell the national minorities which traditions should be kept and which ones should be abolished. If one of the traditions still remains, then probably it is not the time yet for one to lose it.

(P. No. 86, 1997)

In fact, it is not just the national minorities who have what are claimed to be some backward and unsuitable traditions. The Han themselves also carry lots of outmoded

customs. For instance there are plenty of people in the countryside who still have to kill an animal in order to celebrate an anniversary or offer felicitations to relatives who are dead. So it is not just national minorities who need to reform their traditions. However, the government points to national minorities alone as being traditional, especially over religious and language issues. (Chapter Three p66 & Chapter Five p124-128)

If the government were to ask more national minority people for consultation, then suggestions from these national minority groups themselves about what to change would lead to reforms which were more acceptable to them. In fact, the government does not really wish national minorities to be modernised quicker than the Han. Take the reform of the Uyghur's writing script as an example. The government decided to change the Uyghur's alphabet from the Arabic to Chinese Pinyin (which is Latin) during the Cultural Revolution, thinking the Arabic alphabet would lead the people to the Koran. The Uyghur's script was abolished overnight and millions of people faced illiteracy unless they learned to use Pinyin. After a few years of struggling, people adopted it and were benefiting from the advantages of it, as it gave them direct access to abroad. The Chinese discovered this and did not like the idea that Uyghurs might learn western technology before the Han. Therefore, after 10 years, the government abolished Pinyin and brought the Arabic back again, thinking it was easier to control religious beliefs than to stop people from being modernised. (cf. p66-67)

Undeniably, there were a lot of backward socio-economic systems hampering the social development of national minorities. In order to speed up the social progress of their societies, it was necessary for the government to carry out social transformation in the early 1950s. For instance, according to Song (1993), in 1949, 85% of the national minorities lived in feudal landlord societies. There were six hundred thousand people who still retained remnants of primitive commune systems to varying degrees, such as the Ewenke and Elunchun in Inner Mongolia, who were roving hunters; the Zhuang, Nu, Wa, Jingbo and Lisu in border areas in Yunnan province, who engaged in primitive farming. However, it was not just the minorities who were in that condition. In some Han areas, private and public ownership of land existed side by side, the principle of common

labouring and equal distribution was still functioning. Obviously, it was the consequence of an extremely low level of productive forces. These problems still exist even though the situation has improved a lot since then. This is unfavourable for economic development and certainly slows down the modernisation process. The Han have the advantages of language, as the official language is Han-Chinese. Therefore their economic improvement is more important than that of the national minorities, as the latter have to struggle with the language barrier. However, if one wants to put social transformation into action to lead to modernisation, it can only be carried out by the people of the national minorities themselves. (Professor S) For governmental organisations, especially the people who are in charge, a clear understanding about the socio-economic system of the minority groups is essential. But, the methods of improvement, which have worked for the Han would not necessarily work for them.

After nearly 50 years in power, the government has not transformed the national minority groups' social status from being backward to being equal to the Han. In fact, the gap between the Han and national minority groups is getting bigger as regards economic conditions. Professor S believed that education was the key. He said:

What they really need in those national minority areas is medium level professional technical workers, and the government has to focus on how to rapidly bring up the medium level professional worker among the national minority groups. The exploitation of natural resources in those areas must be participated in by the national minorities.

(P. No. 83, 1997)

Professor. S suggestion confirms one of the claims made by a parent, Mr. K. He was feeling bitter about the Han coming to his homeland and building an oil field. It looked good to him before it was set up, as the government promised thousands of job vacancies for the local minorities. Now everything is in process, millions of tons of oil are being exported. But local people do not see a penny of it nor are they benefiting from the job vacancies. As it happens, 99% of the workers are Han and directly recruited from other provinces. He said: *"They moved into our town with their entire families. Things are*

getting tougher for us now, as more people have to share the same local budget as before their migration. Which means less job opportunities and less educational funds for us now.”

The students claimed that national minorities could do very little at the moment, as they were hardly involved in any kind of manufacturing work due to their educational level, which is still low in general. As a result, the Han exploit the natural resources even in the national minority regions.

An example one teacher gave was in Hainan province where the local people are the Lis. There are the people who are actually planting tea, while the Han process and export it abroad. Thus, it is the Han who are actually making much of profits. Factory managers are reluctant to recruit Lis because Lis are considered backward and lacking in skills and compared to the Lis, the Han are often considered more professional and better-educated. In addition he felt that it was always easier for the Han to have training opportunities. (P. No. 83, 1997)

That was quite an insult for the national minorities. What happened in the Lis' case is ultimately traditional discrimination. Students and graduates were asked on their questionnaire “to what extent do you think that discrimination against national minorities still exists”. (See **Table 6.4**)

Out of 27 answers, 18 stated “to some extent”. None of the 27 people answer “not at all”. This finding is actually obtained from the most fortunate members of the national minority people, who have had a great opportunity to have higher education, which is not normally accessible even for every Han.

Table 6.4**To what extent do you think that discrimination against national minorities still exist?****(No. 27)**

	great extent	some extent	very little	not at all	
	I-----I	I-----I	I-----I	I-----I	
Scale	4	3	2	1	
Number of					
Respond	5	18	4	0	Total: 27

The mean score 3.04, which is slightly more than "some extent"

The Han realise that without development of the national minorities, there will not be development of the whole country. In order to transform the status of national minority groups, first of all, it is essential to universalise basic education and professional training among the groups; secondly the state should encourage the national minorities to join the forces of modern productivity and establish new market economy systems. Then there will be a hope for modernisation in China. The government is perhaps planning to transform the national minorities into "real" Chinese before economic development take place among the national minority groups. It will be a long journey if the government is waiting for the assimilation process to take place first. Professor S stated that China's modernisation process has to include national minorities. Huge development can not be expected for the Han, he claimed, unless government allows national minorities to develop their own economy and all the nationalities grow together.

6.5. Job Aspiration and Educational Qualification

There is a growing concern in the world whether there are jobs available for every one. It is an important issue in Western countries, and as important for the 1.3 billion people

who populate a country like China. It is hard for a Han to find a proper job and even more difficult for a national minority group member. People are often judged by their professions or careers as to whether they belong to a higher class or the bottom one. Because national minorities in China have been discriminated against by the majority Han ever since they were conquered, they are eager to change their situation. As the modern sector job market demands high qualifications, national minority members are often turned down due either to language or skill deficiencies. As a result, more and more minority group members have come to the conclusion that higher education is the solution. In order to change their social status, they have to empower themselves with scientific knowledge. The demand for higher education may partly be even a result of desperation.

Students and graduates who participated were asked what was the main reason for their studying at the CUN. The most popular answer among the 27 replies was that they were chosen and they accepted the offer. 2 people choose “other reason” and stated “It is cheaper than studying in other universities”. (See **Table 6.5**)

Table 6.5

What is the Main reason for you to study in the CUN?		(No. 27)
<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>	
The CUN is especially designed for the national minorities	5	
My parents wanted me to study in the CUN	3	
My friends suggested the CUN	3	
I was chosen by the CUN and I accepted it	14	
Other reasons	2	
	Total	27

In accordance to the answers given by students, the issue which dominates the minds of students and their parents, is to find a place for them in a higher learning institution with no concern about where or what to study, as long as one gets a certificate of higher education. This indicates that national minorities are desperate for empowerment.

To question No. 3 of the "Questionnaire For the Students", "What do you expect to get from the CUN by the time you finish your study? Is it: A. higher social status; B. better value; C. better job opportunity; D. improve ability; E. increase self-confidence or others..." instead of giving one answer, some of the students ticked more than one. Did they misunderstand the rules of the questionnaire? No, they did not, because this was the only question that they ticked more than one. This could be indicating that they found more than one aspect appealed to them. (See **Table 6.6**)

Table 6.6

Expectations of the CUN students

(No. 36)

What do you expect to achieve by the time you finish your study in the CUN?

<u>Expectations</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>
Gain higher social status	6
Get better value	6
Have better job opportunity	5
Improve skill and ability	14
Increase self-confidence	5
Total	36

Interview with student Y helps explain this:

What I have been told ever since I was a little boy is that I must try to have higher education. Before each entry exam, to secondary school, high school and university, my poor father had to point to the hoes which always stand in a corner of our house, and say to me: 'Do you see that? If you fail, that is what you have to spend the rest of your life with.' Meaning I would be back to the farm and could never have a second chance to walk to a higher social status. Certainly, higher education will make me improve my abilities in many ways, therefore, I will be more confident when I step into a real society.

(P. No. 47, 1997)

Many students firmly believed that higher social status, and job opportunities directly relate to higher education. Higher education was important to a Han, but even more important to a minority member. This was because national minority groups were always regarded as poor and backward nations. "National minority" was almost a dirty word and a member of that group barely had any social status. The only way students considered that they could transform themselves from the bottom to a higher social status was to have higher education.

To question No. 8, "What do you plan to do after you graduate from the CUN?", out of 31 people, 19 answered: "find a full-time job" as they were satisfied with one degree; 7 wanted to continue their studies to gain a higher degree; 2 wanted to set up their own business, so as not to have to "Beg" from others. (See **Table 6.7**) However, none of them were willing to go back home and help with their family business after they graduated, which indicates that the purpose of their study was to improve themselves; also, more importantly is the acknowledgement of one's importance in society.

As an example of this, a mother of a Miao student said that an ideal place for her son to work after he graduated would be in the capital, Beijing, or a major city of the country. The second choice perhaps would be the capital city of the province where their home was located. She did not wish her son to go back to her home town, because she was

afraid that her relatives and neighbours would assume her son had not done well in the university, which meant her son had let everybody down. As far as the mother was concerned, her son s not just studying for himself, but also for his relatives, even for his fellow Miao people in the village. (P. No. 75, 1997)

Table 6.7

Future plans of the CUN students

(No. 31)

What do you plan to do (for the graduates: what do you do) after you graduate from the CUN?

<u>Options</u>	<u>Number of Respondent</u>
Continue higher education	7
Find a full-time job	19
Set up own business	2
Help parents with their farming	0
Others	3
Total	31

A father of an Uyghur graduate said that it took his son more than two years to get a job after he graduated. If he had not bribed the relevant people, (he admits he did bribe,) his son would still be waiting at home. He stated:

My family saved every penny in order to let my son have a higher education, hoping he would get a better job in a higher place. In the end, never mind about the higher place, he couldn't even get a job in a small place like my home town. Han migrants can get a decent job in the city or town centre shortly after they move to our region, but when it comes to us, there are always so many excuses. If we are not college graduates, they would say that we have no qualifications. Now we have the degrees, they

say that we are over qualified for the job, and they only need middle level professionals. We said: 'we can speak perfect Chinese', the answer we got was: 'Oh, then you probably can go to a village and teach your Uyghur kids some Chinese.' If we can not find a job in our own autonomous region, where are we supposed to find one?

(P. No. 79, 1997)

Most of the students and graduates felt that they had had too much pressure ever since they started their primary school. What they understood before was that the pressure came from the parents, the relatives, the schoolteachers, and now they realised that it actually comes from the whole society. They said that their aim was one, i.e. to get rid of that irritable name "backward".

To question "Do you think the CUN is reaching your expectations? If yes, to what extent", out of 38 responses, 10 said "do not know yet", because they were still studying. It is difficult to give a fair answer. 6 were blanked, as they wanted to see if they could find a job with a CUN diploma. 16 of the 22 students answered "Yes, to some extent"; 4 said "very little" and 2 answered "not at all". But no one answered "to a great extent". Almost every one of them gave one good reason for their reply. Most of them considered that being accepted by the CUN was a turning point for them. They felt upgraded. Some even felt transformed from ordinary farmers to city intellectuals, even though most of them were not happy with the teaching quality. They complained about teaching equipment and public services not being up to date compared to the other universities in Beijing. They assumed they would have learned more if they had studied in a different university in Beijing. Indeed, one Mongolian graduate said that he was so excited when he first heard that there would be some computer lessons for non-computer department students. But what they had done was only touch the keyboard three times, the rest was just theory. He felt that he was looked down on again at his work place when he admitted to his boss that he was not computer literate. The Mongolian student's comment indicates another side of the national minorities, i.e. a lack of confidence.

Table 6.8**Students' satisfaction levels****(No. 22)**

 To what extent do you think that the CUN is reaching to you expectation?

	Great extent	some extent	very little	not at all
	I-----I	I-----I	I-----I	I-----I
Score	4	3	2	1
Number of				
Respondents	0	16	4	2

Means score: 2.6, which is between "some extent" and "very little".

Many of the students liked to relate their study to their job aspirations. They presumed that the CUN could be considered beneficial and having reached hoped for qualifications, expected employment after graduation. The real expectation was to gain a higher social status. The aspects of where they might be studying, what they were actually studying or if learning conditions were ideal, all were secondary considerations before they graduated. Students will not regret studying in the CUN until they find a job and discover that they are not as academically strong as the graduates from other key universities.

The teaching quality of the CUN might not be as good as other key universities in Beijing. (As both the teachers and students claimed) However, some people looked on the bright side of it. A number of students admitted that they have achieved something quite outstanding, which was unexpected before they came to the CUN, ie. to learn about different national minorities' cultures. Many of the groups do not have direct contact with each other but only with the Han. Therefore, the CUN is regarded by the students as an excellent meeting point where the east meets the west and the north meets the south, where the students can discover a lot of valuable knowledge about the culture of national minority groups. A Korean student said:

It was very encouraging when I first learned that there is Uyghur traditional medicine and Tibetan traditional medicine, and they can be used to cure some illness which in some cases even western medicine can not cure. Before I came to the CUN, all I knew was how backward we national minorities were. It was a wonderful feeling to discover that we national minority groups do have some advanced sides to us.

This indicates that national minorities need to be encouraged and helped with the building up of self confidence. Higher education naturally will help national minorities to achieve this target to a certain extent and that is certainly one of the main reason for the national minorities to consider higher education no matter what price they have to pay.

6.6 Conclusion

In total, 86 people participated in the fieldwork, which included teachers, students, parents, administrators and graduates from different national background and with long or short term experience in the field of nationality. The main instruments were interview and questionnaire. (Outline is presented as **Table 6.9**) Involved languages are English, Chinese and Uyghur. Translation became essential.

Both the pilot study and the main field study have contributed to an enlarged understanding of the policy towards different nationalities in a multicultural society. The field work was carried out in order to answer one main question, (which was stated at the beginning of this study,) i.e. what are the enduring features of Chinese policy towards the national minorities.

In relation to this main question, the conclusions of the field studies can be summarised as follows:

Table 6.9 Outline of the field visits

SAMPLE	INSTRUMENTATIONS	
	Interview	Questionnaire
<u>First Visit</u>		
33 people: 12 student, 15 academic staff, 6 administrators	X X X	
<u>Second Visit</u>		
53 people: 13 students 25 graduates 2 students 6 parents 2 academic stuff 5 key persons	 X X X X	X X

1. As was stated earlier in the thesis, the main reasons for the existence of inequality between the Han (Chinese) and national groups, first of all, is historical. For a long period of history, national minorities have been regarded as less developed nations than the Han in terms of the economy, culture and tradition. Previous Chinese governments have never looked after national groups' benefits, and therefore, in the present government's terms, it is the old emperors and National People's Party (KMT) which need to be blamed. Secondly, ordinary Han people have been influenced by the old tradition for far too long, i.e. Han are the greatest people and will always be the centre of the world. Though the CCP has formulated a policy towards national minorities in China, which it claims as the best policy ever in Chinese history, the failure of the implementation process prevented the policy from being implemented in its stated firm. As the promulgator of policy, the government does not wish to be blamed for its failure. The very best government can do at this stage is to wait and expect that, hopefully, the quality of the whole Chinese nation will reach a certain standard in the future. It is hoped by the government that the

policy towards the national minorities will be implemented precisely as it is stated in the official paper, for example, as in the Constitution.

2. It has been confirmed by the interviewees that the government appears not to wish the CUN to be academically as strong as other key universities, because teaching facilities and teaching quality are far behind comparing the other key universities. It shows that there is a political dilemma. If the national groups' education develops too fast, there will be more and more members of the national minority groups realising the real aspirations of the CCP's policy towards national minorities. This might cause problems for the government in handling of the minorities issue. On the other hand, if the national group's education does not match up to the main reform and development project, it will delay the whole developmental process of the country, which directly affects the Han.
3. The data from the field work also suggested that although many national groups' members see higher education as a bridge to obtain higher social status, a key role of higher educational sectors like the CUN in fact is to serve the government. The CUN is there to promote the CCP's policy of producing national minorities with Communist mind. The government set up higher learning institutions for national minorities with the hope that the brightest students will accept the government aspirations of reprogramming them towards the Han dominated Communist way of life.
4. The data suggested that, according to some experts, China was not yet ready for a full democracy. People in China have not yet developed into a certain standard to deserve all the human rights, which is including the national minority issues. This claim made by the experts in the CUN seems contradict to the Middle Kingdom ideology. Therefore, perhaps it can be understood that policy towards its national minority groups is one of the areas to consider before one can judge if that particular nation is civilised.

5. The data confirmed that there has been only one Chinese policy towards national minority groups, i.e. assimilation, which sometimes appears as persuasive and other times appears as imposed, and this is combined with population transformation. At different stages there were different named social movements, in which national minorities could often be persuaded that it was for their benefit. At the moment, the Chinese government is bringing about a situation in which national identities relating to language, religious belief, custom and tradition are gradually fading away. The present assimilation process is taking place under the umbrella of “modernisation process”. National minorities’ ambition to be economically developed has been manipulated. The consequence of the government’s policy therefore remains assimilationist in practice.

The next chapter is the main discussion of this study. It will be based on the research questions stated in the Chapter One together with the findings of the field study. The central issue once again is about the Chinese policy towards its national minorities, its formulation and implementation

CHAPTER SEVEN

NATIONAL MINORITIES AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

7.1 Introduction

As stated in Chapter One, the overall purpose of this study is to provide a clear perspective on national minority education in China and the government's policies towards national minority groups, Particularly in relation to higher education. Chapters One to Four have reviewed the theoretical framework of the study and Chapters Five and Six have described the methods and results of the field work. This chapter discusses the relevance of the findings to the original research question and considers the theoretical and practical implications of these findings. Therefore, this chapter is organised under the following headings:

7.1. Introduction

7.2. Relevance of the findings to the research question

7.3. Education and social factors

7.4. Conclusion

The main research question of this study, stated in Chapter One, was "What are the enduring features of Chinese policies, especially educational policy, towards national minorities?" The result of the study has suggested that the main feature of the Communist Chinese policy has been the development from pluralism to assimilation, with education playing a very important role in the whole assimilation process. The main implications of the findings can be simply stated. It is very important to relate national minorities' education to their cultures and traditions as well as their social environment in terms of social development. Otherwise, to develop national minorities' education will be empty talk.

Under the main research question, there were six sub-questions:

- 1) What are the major types of policies developed by the dominant groups in a multicultural society and how do they affect the educational system?
- 2) What are the basic policies towards national minorities in China and their educational consequences?
- 3) What is the structure of the Chinese educational system, and how does it function in relation to national minorities?
- 4) What assumptions underpin the policy implementation process? In particular, how important is the “Middle Kingdom” concept for policy implementation?
- 5) What are the reactions from teachers, students and their parents, as well as the administrators at university level, towards the government's policy and implementation?
- 6) What is the main role of higher learning institutions which are specifically formed for the national minorities in China?

The main findings from this current research can be summarised as follows:

- 1) The major types of policies developed by the dominant groups in a multicultural society, as discussed in Chapter Two, are assimilation, pluralism, population transfer, subjugation and extermination.
- 2) As one of the major policies developed by the dominant national groups, assimilation has been and remains the main policy towards the national minorities in China. Population transfer has been conducted in order to assist to the main assimilation process.
- 3) The structure of the Chinese educational system is very much Communist Party dominated and Han oriented. The system is there to serve the government's purpose of assimilate national minorities into communist Han.
- 4) As a result of the “Middle Kingdom” ideology underpin the policy formulation and implementation process, inequality between the Han (Chinese) and the national minorities exists for a long period of history and it is almost impossible to change it, at least not in the foreseeable future.
- 5) The national minorities believed that the government now has the a dilemma in that it

can never be sure about how much allowance should be given to the national minorities to improve their socio-economic development.

- 6) There is a great deal of difference between the government and individual minority group members' perceptions of the role of education.
- 7) Policy towards its national minority groups is one of the areas to consider before one can judge that particular nation is civilised.

Related to the above aspects, the relevance of the findings to the original research question, therefore, will be analysed under five heading, which emerged from the research, namely historical heritages, development, the role of education, civilisation and pluralism or assimilation. These aspects form the first half of this chapter.

The second half of the chapter considers the theoretical and practical implications of the findings, which are drawn from the findings of this study. National minorities' education in China, as uncovered during this research, mainly related to following six aspects, namely language, religion, social value, psychology, geography and population. Therefore, the second part of this chapter will carry out its discussion based on the above six aspects.

7.2 Relevance of the Findings to the Research Question

86 people from 16 different nationalities were involved in the fieldwork and throughout the fieldwork, no evidence was found that differences in national minorities' cultural background made a great differences to their opinions on the government's policy. As mentioned earlier, the major issues of the questions and findings can be seen under the following headings,, namely historical heritages, development, the role of education, civilisation and pluralism or assimilation. The discussion starts with the first one, i.e. historical heritage.

7.2.1 Historical Heritage

Some of the academic staff of the CUN pointed out that the reason for national minorities less developed than the Han was historical and the CCP could not be responsible for the fact that the Han were socio-economically more developed than most of the national minorities. (cf. Chapter Six, p149-151) However, the evidence of this study suggests that what is historical about the backward status of national minorities is the attitude of the majority Han towards them, which is guided by the "Middle Kingdom" ideology. (cf. Chapter Three, p51-53)

The Han Chinese are convinced by this "Middle Kingdom" concept, not knowingly, believing that only the Chinese can assimilate other nations and not be assimilated by others. The Chinese have learned and adopted certain advanced technologies which belong to different nationalities and as that particular nationality is assimilated by the Chinese, their inventions naturally become Chinese inventions. What happens then? The contributions of that national minority group are completely forgotten. For example, as was stated in Chapter One, the Han learned horse breeding techniques from the Xiong-lu (ancient Mongolian) and also learned paddy field agriculture with an irrigation system from the Beiyue tribes. (Song, 1993) These simple examples are just a few of the many important but unacknowledged contributions of minority groups. It was their inventions which have enriched Chinese culture and made generation after generation of the Han extremely proud of themselves. It was also these inventions which have created the Han Chinese attitudes towards its national minorities, ignoring some of the fact that new techniques originated from national minority groups, often the one that they look down upon.

As another example, one of the students from the CUN described how excited she was when she first learned the existence and advantages of the traditional Uyghur and Tibetan medicines. (cf. Chapter Six, p166) All she knew was how backward the national minorities were until she went to the CUN and learned that there are many great inventions by the national minorities which she originally thought belonged to the Han.

Minority group members will be more confident and discrimination against them will occur less if there is a well planned intercultural education programme permeating the national curriculum. It is the government's responsibility if the people are ignorant. Historical heritage belongs to the people rather than the governors. As people of all nationalities are the creators of the country, there should be equality of opportunity among them no matter whether large or small in population, concentrated or scattered, advanced or backward in development. The government must incorporate an awareness of cultural heritage and an understanding that no one's culture is intrinsically superior to others. (Verne, 1987)

7.2.2 Development

Bishop Gregarious, addressing at the 1985 Korean Christian conference of Asia held in Seoul, Korea, claimed that the whole notion of "development" was a drug to keep the Third World asleep. He suggested that in the 1960s, the problems for Third World nations were seen as "underdevelopment", hence the solution was "development". The perception of the problem changed in the 1970s to one of "poverty" and the appropriate solution was "affluence". Such affluence was to be attained by copying the programmes and methods of the western world. He said it was not the Third World, but the West which was poor. The Third World was rich in humanity, in family relationships, in religious faith and in its relationship with the environment. The West should learn from the Third World in these areas. He concluded that the real international problem was not "underdevelopment", or "poverty", but injustice and exploitation of the Third World by the West. Thus, the solution is justice. (Smith, 1996)

In China's case, the word "development" seems to appear very frequently. National minorities are extremely sensitive about this subject, because they are often told that they are backward, i.e. underdeveloped in relation to their economy and culture. They can see the fact that the Han dominated provinces are economically more developed than the

national minority regions. They have also discovered that children who studied in Han schools seemed more intelligent than the others did, because those who have studied in a Han school have all the opportunities in respect of higher education and job promotion. (They are not aware of one important fact that only 40% of Chinese textbooks are translated into national minority languages for non-Chinese schools) They are therefore quite convinced that national minorities are underdeveloped both economically and culturally. Naturally, no one likes to be regarded as underdeveloped. It is common sense to seek a better life. With encouragement from the government, national minorities have worked out that the solution is to study Chinese and Han culture from the very beginning rather than to cling to their national identities. What is identity worth, if it is thought to represent backwardness and underdevelopment?

Simpson and Yinger pointed out that assimilation process was reversible. (Cf. Chapter Two, p35) It is not just a simple one-way process. If certain national minority group members realise that their culture is dying away, their identities, (for instance) their languages and their traditions, can be consciously revived. In the case of forced assimilation, dissimulation often occurs and sometimes conflict can take place. It has happened many times in Chinese history. Recent examples include the Tibetan Revolt of 1959, the Uyghur's exodus to Russia in 1962, the students' demonstration in Urumqi in 1985 and 1988 and the Uyghur's demonstration in Yili in 1997. (cf. p73) It is quite difficult therefore for the government to find a perfect balance in respect of controlling national minority development issues. In terms of education, if the national minority's education develops too fast, more and more members of the groups will have higher education and will be able to realise the full implication of the CCP's policy towards the national minorities. This therefore, might cause problems for the government in handling the national minority issue. In this respect, minority ignorance may be more suitable. On the other hand, if the development of minority groups' education does not match up to the main reform and development project, it will affect the whole national plan. This means the Han economy will not be able to develop any further. As Professor S stated, modernisation cannot be done without the participation of the national minorities. (P. No. 83, 1997) The CUN was established for the purpose of benefiting the national minority

groups but sadly it cannot deliver the message as hoped for by the national minority people. It is one of the key higher learning institutions in China, together with Beijing University, yet teaching quality and facility in the CUN are far behind. (Discussed in Chapter Five & Six) The status of the CUN as revealed in this research is evidence that government is in such a dilemma.

“Development” is quite a stressful issue for the national minorities in China. Equally the matter does not come easier for the government to handle either. Bishop Gregarious was quite clear in his comments on the issues of “development” and “underdevelopment”. He identified the real problem for underdevelopment as “injustice” and “exploitation”. An example of this is Xinjiang, where the biggest oil field of China is located and which is extremely rich in other natural resources. But it is still one of the poorest regions after nearly half a century’s development. The reason is that since oil and other natural resources are 100% under national overall plans and local government does not have the control of any part of them. In other words, the resources have been taken out of the region and benefit other parts of the country, where the majority Han are based. Song Han-liang, a Party Secretary for the region until 1996, made a request to central government after visiting some of the poorest towns in the southern part of the region. He asked if it might be possible to keep as little as 1% of the oil resources to improve the living standard of the poorest towns in the southern Xinjiang and thus benefit the local economy. He was immediately called to Beijing. After two months, the local people were told that Mr. Song had been ill and could not return to the area, and Xinjiang would therefore have a new Party Secretary, selected and transferred from another province by the central government. (P. No. 70, 1997)

In addition to the oil issue, people in Xinjiang face another major problem, i.e. pollution. Since 1960s, Xinjiang has been a major base for the Chinese nuclear weapon tests. Local agriculture and farming (which is the backbone of local economy) are strongly affected by the resulting pollution. More importantly, human health is in danger. Channel 4 “Dispatches” made a special report showed to the public on the 6th October 1998, which

confirmed that many diseases in southern Xinjiang, including the rate of cancer and deform children, have increased enormously in the last 25 years.

Therefore, it is not difficult to see the Bishop's point that the solution, for the national minority groups not being backward or underdeveloped, is justice, rather than "affluence".

7.2.3 Role of Education

As discussed in Chapter Two, there are two controversial views about the role of education in the process of social change, i.e. proactive and reactive. (cf. p43) Proactive theories contend that education can be instrumental in bringing about wider social changes, so that education can be a change agent. Opposite to this are the reactive theories, which stated that educational changes are, at best, mere reflections of social change. Normally education performs the function of reproducing the existing social order and structure. Therefore, attempts to reform the educational systems are doomed to fail, unless wider social changes are already taking place. Whether we look at the educational process in China from a proactive view or reactive one, the role of education has turned out to be a completely different concept for the government and for national minority group members.

This study shows that although students in the CUN are from 55 different nationalities, their aim is one: to empower themselves through higher education and to gain a higher social status. In this respect, national minorities firmly believe in the proactive role of education. They believe that education is a tool of empowerment and getting a good education is a way of gaining higher social status and further improving their life style. Children are often taught the values that will bring them success in their lives. National minorities fully understand and internalise both cultural values and symbols leading to motivations, actions and achievement. (Discussed in Chapters Five and Six)

The government, on the other hand in this instance, sees education as a change agent. An education sector can be specially established for the national minorities so that the younger generation of the national minorities will be influenced with a special ideology, which will make the national minorities gradually lose their national identities. These influenced, brightest members of the minority groups can then go back to their areas and influence more members of the groups. After a few decades, there will be noticeable changes among the national minority groups but not necessarily economic development.

Following the “reactive” theory, national minorities’ education is, at best, a mere reflection of social changes. From the students’ and their parents’ point of view, the gap between the national minority areas and other provinces has been getting wider in terms of economic development over the last fifty years. Culturally, national minorities are losing their national identities. These changes within the national minority groups are noticeable from their educational process. More and more parents choose Han schools for their children as they have realised from the national curriculum how important the Chinese language can be for their children’s further education and job recruitment. (cf. Chapters Five & Six) From the government’s point of view, education performs the function of reproducing the existing social order and structure. Only changes made within the educational system can bring wider social changes to the national minorities.

Both proactive and reactive views have relevance to the role of education in China. Despite the fact that national minorities and government have completely different opinions towards the role of education, there is one common view between them. Both sides seem to recognise that becoming Han (Chinese) is fundamental to future of development and education is the key.

7.2.4 Civilisation

Students and their parents who were interviewed during the fieldwork felt quite uncomfortable that national minority group members are often judged according to their

clothes, their Chinese language ability and their religious beliefs before they have passed the “civilisation” test. In other words, the criterion of “civilisation” in China is if s/he has become a Han yet. (cf. Chapter Five and Six) If the answer is "yes", the next question will be how many members of that group have reached this standard. Of course, the more the better. Then this particular group is judged to be more civilised than the others, because there will naturally be more members of this certain group qualified for higher education and, further, job recruitment. It is known in China that Huis (Chinese Muslim) and Manchus are more acceptable by the Han and regarded as more civilised national minorities than the rest of the minority groups. This is simply because the Han language has been Hui's mother tongue and is becoming the Manchus as well, which has given them easier access to higher education and better job opportunities.

The Chinese often claim that human civilisation began in China. It was China which first invented the compass, paper making and printing techniques and manufactured gunpowder⁷ 3000 years ago. Again it was China which had the earliest philosophies, Confucianism, Taoism and Legalism, 5000 years ago. China is, therefore, a civilised ancient country.

It might be true that China was the most developed nation at one time, but history can only represent the past. Gandhi stated that civilisation should be judged by its treatment of minorities. (Chaliand, 1989) Professor H of the CUN said that never mind the rights of national minorities, the people in China as a whole not yet deserve democracy. (cf. p151 Chapter Six) This is because of the general situation in China. It requires more central control than democracy because the standard of the majority of Chinese has not yet developed to a high enough level. The cultural standard of the Chinese people as a whole has to improve before democracy or human rights can be an issue to discuss at the government's table.

Professor H's comment came across with Friederichs' studies which claimed that in traditional China, there was no concept of individual rights existed. The PRC had only

⁷ Known as The Four Great Inventions in Chinese history

progressed as far as describing the key CCP precept, i.e. the individual rights were always subordinated to the state. Socialism itself represented a focus on and a commitment to the well-being of society as a whole. In addition, the commitment to socialism permeated the constitution and its conception of right. (Friederichs, 1988)

By the standards described by Gandhi and Prof. H, the Chinese perhaps could no longer be judged a “civilised” nation. In today’s world, civilisation cannot simply be measured by the earliest inventions or oldest philosophies. More importantly, civilisation should be judged by its treatment of other people, especially of the national minorities by the dominant group.

7.2.5 Pluralism or Assimilation

The evidence in this study, as a result of interviewing students, their parents, teachers and administrators, suggests that the simplest way of describing Chinese policies towards national minorities is assimilation.

Chinese Communist policy first appeared as pluralism. As early as 1922, a year after the establishment of the party, the CCP formulated its policy towards national minority groups. The concept of “autonomy and federalism” was specifically made toward Mongolians, Tibetans and Turkic Muslims in Xinjiang. In 1931, the CCP announced that it would do its utmost to assist the national minorities in liberating themselves from the yoke of imperialists, the KMT militarists. In achieving complete freedom and autonomy, the CCP must encourage the development of the national cultures and of the respective national languages of these people. (cf. p59-63 Chapter Three) Until 1949, the year the PRC was born, the policy still remained as pluralism. The CCP promised national minority people that there would be full equality and regional autonomy for the nationalities. The minorities would be aided so as to undertake social reforms and to develop their economy, their policy and their culture. (Discussed in Chapter Three)

As China grew stronger, the policy towards the national minorities gradually changed from pluralism to assimilation. The reasons for this is because the CCP discovered many natural resources and wealth during and after the Long March (1934-1935) and was aware that if the minority groups had a choice, they would choose to be separate from the CCP's control. However, as the CCP was still very weak then and had to fight its enemy the KMT, it had to unite all possible forces in order to win full control of the country. That is why the policy towards the national minorities had to be appealing to them. Changes from the pluralism to assimilation might not be seen very clearly in the 1950s as it was a rather slow process, but now after half a century, more and more people can spot the differences between the policies. (cf. Chapter Three, Five and Six)

One can perhaps argue about the genuineness of 1922-49 policies and if the Chinese Communist Party seriously wanted to give national minorities real equal opportunities to develop their social-economic circumstances like those for the Han. Some of the evidence suggested "Yes", in that the CCP was prepared to give up certain aspects of control to the national minorities and its policy was one of genuine pluralism. However the rest of the evidence suggested "No", as there never was a genuine pluralistic policy for the national minority groups.

The positive evidence claims that in 1921, the CCP was extremely weak with no weapons in their hands and no support from the outside world. Within the country, the mass of the people hardly knew about the existence of the CCP. In order to rule the whole of China, the CCP had to fight not only the ruling Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) which was militarily supported by the USA, but also the Japanese army which already controlled Northeast China. The only possibility for the CCP to win the war was to unite the mass of the people who considered the USA and Japanese as invaders, rather than sponsors, and hated the KMT for its compromising. Under these difficult circumstances, the CCP would promise any group of people that they would be better than KMT as long as it could have their support. The aim for the CCP was to win power and rule the country. At that stage, it did not mind losing some of its powers to do this.

However, more evidence (cf. p59-69) showed that making promises was only a tactic for the CCP to reach power. It never meant to have a pluralistic policy for the national minorities, or real autonomy for national minority groups to run their homelands as they wished. During the war, the CCP was very much aware of the fact that national minority groups did not like the KMT, for the KMT tried to transfer Han people to the areas where the national minority groups lived in order to form a Chinese regime. The key to uniting all the nationalities, as far as the CCP was concerned, was to rely on patriotism and slowly assimilate the national minority groups into the massive Han population. There has been only this one policy, i.e. assimilation, although assimilation might have appeared with different clothes, pseudo-pluralism for instance, at some stages. The reason that it is almost impossible for the Chinese to have a different policy other than assimilation is because of the assumption underpinning the majority Chinese views on this issue over the centuries, i.e. "Middle Kingdomism". The policies after 1950s (cf. Chapter Three, p63) indicated that even if the CCP succeeds in forming a good policy, it will still fail during the implementation process, because the massive majority of the Han deeply believe in "Middle Kingdom" theory.

According to Simpson and Yinger, (cf. p32-35) the assimilation process is conducted in two ways, i.e. by persuasion and by force. During the Chinese assimilation process, both persuasive and forced methods were applied. In terms of persuasion, the government successfully persuaded most of the national minority group leaders to give up their weapons and join the People's Republic of China's government by 1959. (cf p59-63) In the name of helping national minority groups to develop their homelands, the government persuaded millions of young ambitious Han to work in national minority areas in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s on a temporary basis. The majority of those people settled down in these areas together with their families. The government also persuaded local authorities to set up labour camps for thousands of criminals from the inland provinces. Such effective persuasion provided perfect conditions for the government to transfer Han to the national minority areas, which changed the composition of local population once and forever, (a process discussed in Chapters Two and Six). For example, the percentage of Han increased from 60% to 95 % in Inner-Mongolia and from 6.7% to 55% in Turkic

Muslim area -- Xinjiang. (**Table 2.1** and **Table 2.2**) As a result, Chinese language and culture became the main stream in some national minority autonomous regions, and national minority identities gradually faded away.

In terms of assimilation by force, the first evidence can be found in relation to religious issues. The government limited the freedom of religious belief through national legislation. Hundreds of mosques and temples were destroyed between the late 1950s and early 1970s. Although some of the mosques and temples were rebuilt after the Cultural Revolution, the damage had already been done. Even now, most people are afraid to admit that they have religious beliefs, because it is still a criminal offence for anyone to try to give religious education to young people under 18, including their own children. (An issue discussed in Chapters Five and Six) Regarding the language issue, the Chinese language was included in the national curriculum and it is backed by the exam system. National minority members do not have access to higher education, job recruitment or promotion unless they are fluent in Chinese. This rule is applied to every area of the country, including the national minority autonomous regions. (cf. p112, p124 & p159-166) As a result, national minorities are forced to give up their own cultures and be assimilated by Han.

As in many countries in the world, many national minorities in China are identified by their languages, religious beliefs and cultural traditions, rather than the colour of their skin or hair. (Discussed in Chapter One) It is quite difficult to distinguish if and when the assimilation process is taking place. However, the results of this study show that the ways of making national minorities lose their identities are based on language, religion, cultural tradition and social environment factors. National minorities are losing their identities because of the following ongoing actions:

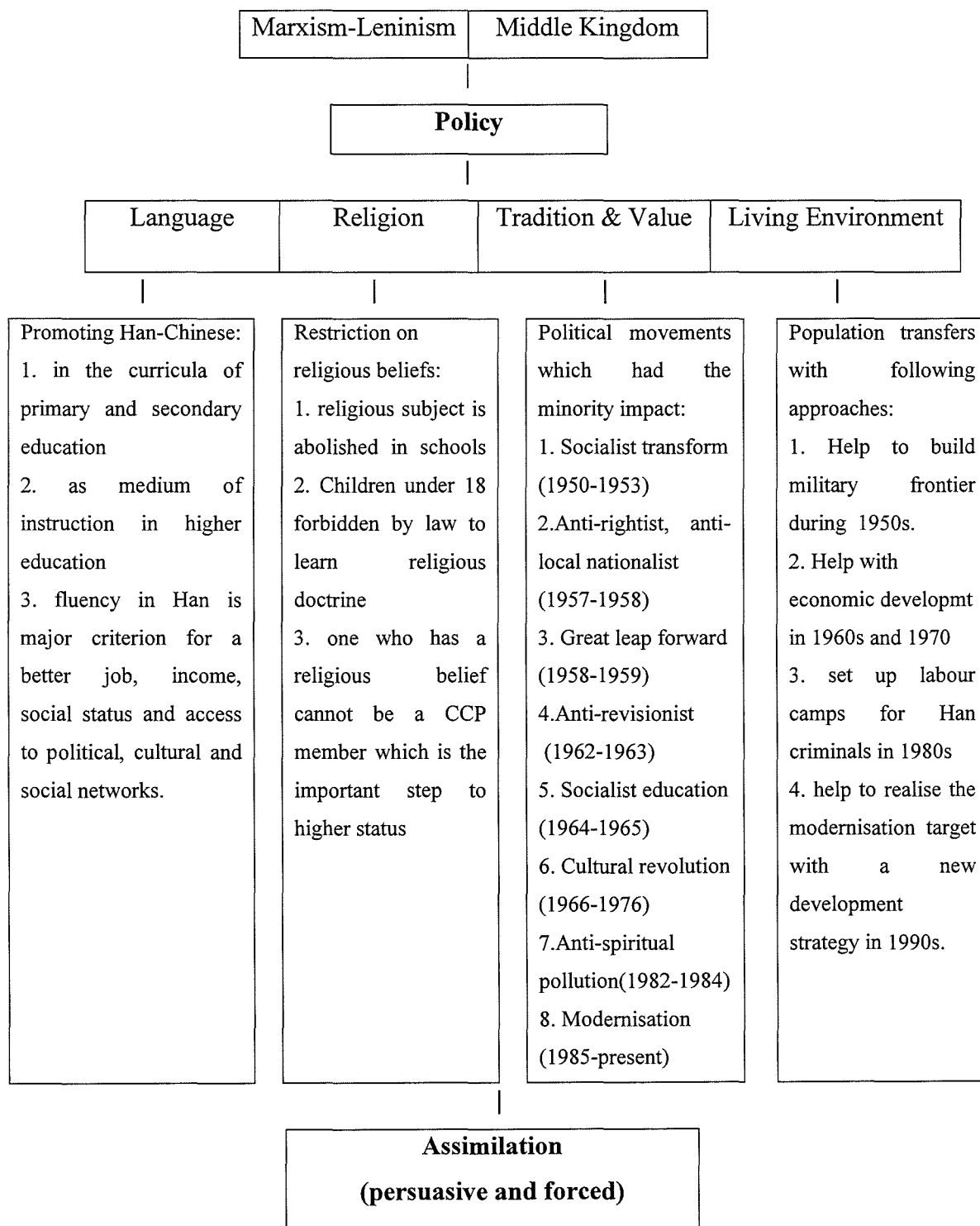
- Introducing and promoting the Chinese language (Han)
- Suppressing religious beliefs
- Limiting customs and traditions
- Restricting national minority social values
- Changing the geographical and population patterns of national minority regions

The discussions related to the implications of the findings will be based on the above aspects and will be detailed at the second half of this chapter.

In conclusion, historical heritage, development, the role of education, civilisation and assimilation are the main aspects drawn from the findings. As a result of this study, the main features of Chinese policy towards its national minorities can be understood as it presented below, i.e. **Figure 7.1**

Figure 7.1 is a simplified picture of Chinese policy towards national minorities and its consequences, which is found by this study. **Figure 7.1** indicates that from the policy formulation point of view, Chinese policy towards its national minorities is formed under two major guidelines, i.e. communist theory of Marxism and Leninism and traditional Chinese Middle Kingdom ideology. The contents of policy mainly focus on four areas, i.e. national minorities' languages, religious beliefs, traditions and values and their living environments. **Figure 7.1** highlights major aspects within these four areas with an emphasis on education. As a result of the policy implementation, the last 75 years of Chinese history indicated that the trend of the development of national minorities was to be assimilated by the Han gradually. This study also found that educational institutions like the CUN are used as change agent for the government to implement its assimilation policy. As equality is concerned, there is no hope of changing the discrimination against the national minority until the whole country develops into a new civilisation period.

Figure 7.1 Chinese Government Policy and its implication for education



7.3 Education and Social Factors

After the analysis of the relevance of the findings to the original research question, this part of the chapter carries on the discussion in relation to the theoretical and practical implications of the findings. The major aspects related to the findings as mentioned at the end of 7.2.5 were language, religion, social value, psychology, geography and population. This is simply because national minorities in China are identified by their language, religious beliefs and cultural traditions within their living environment. It is important to look at the relationship between these aspects and national minorities' education. By examining the links between them, it will show that there are inseparable links between national minorities' education and these aspects.

The implications of the findings therefore have to be based on those aspects. The main sections of this second part of the chapter are therefore organised as:

- 7.3.1. Language and national minority education
- 7.3.2. Religion and national minority education
- 7.3.3. Social value and national minority education
- 7.3.4. National minority's psychology and their education
- 7.3.5. Geographical environment and education
- 7.3.6. The population and education

7.3.1 Language and National Minority Education

The data collected from the fieldwork has confirmed the theory (cf. p 51-59) that China is a multi-national and multi-lingual country and the relationship between languages and national minorities in China is very complicated, being mainly characterised by the following aspects:

- 1) The borrowing of language.

For instance in the process of its formation, the Hui nationality used Arabic and Persian without making a unitary language of their own. They thus later borrowed Han Chinese as their mother tongue.

2) The parallel usage of several languages.

There are at least eight nationalities using two or more languages in a parallel manner in China. e.g. Kirgiz people uses the native tongues spoken in Xinjiang and Heilongjiang. Tibetan uses both Tibetan and Jiarong. Yao uses Mian, Bunu and Lajia.

3) The concurrent usage of several languages.

In China, in areas where people live in scattered communities, people may speak more than one language while retaining their own. e.g. the Tibetan people also speak Qiang, Pumi and Naxi languages; the Mongolians who live in Xinjiang also use Uyghur and Kazak and the ones who live in Tibet also use Tibetan and the Naxi languages. The Kirgiz also use Uyghur and Kazak.

4) The transfer to other languages.

In China, some nationalities no longer use their mother tongues, as a result, they are using other languages instead. E.g. the Manchu and Hezhe people, except some elderly members, are now using Han Chinese as their native tongue. In southern China, only 20% of Tujia, Molao and Jing are still using their mother tongue, while the rest have adopted Han as their native language. In the Northwest, Most of the Uzbeks and Tatars have adopted Uyghur as their native language.

5) Multi-lingual features.

Some national minorities in China, while using their own languages, also are well versed in other languages, e.g. the Yao, Molao. Maonan, Bao'an, Bai, Naxi, Dongxiang, Jingbo and Qiang people are fluent in Han while rest of the national minority groups are only partly fluent in Han.

(Ma, 1986)

The relation between national minority languages and their education is characterised by Zhang:

The relationship between language and education, in a narrow sense, can be regarded as the relation between language used in education and development of intelligence. Man's language ability is the result of interaction between objective elements and man's potentials. The relation between man's language ability and development of intelligence is intricate.

(Translated from Zhang, 1988, p28)

According to Zhang, no matter what the level of one's intelligence, one has the ability for language acquisition. At the age of five, a child is able to master basically the language system he is using, although his advanced language ability can only be reached in due course. Language has been the major means in teaching knowledge ever since man's stage of receiving education. Man's language ability and the development of intelligence relate to one another as mutual improving and inter-binding. It is, therefore, very important for the educator to adopt a language which will enable the receiver to develop his/her language ability and helps improve the development of his/her level of intelligence.

It is recognised that the language is the major instrument to realise educational goals. As to which language is to be the one used in minority groups' education, it remains a question of complexity and subtlety. It was agreed by the experts attending the 1981 UNESCO Conference held in Paris that the native tongue strikes the keynote of elementary education and its success, and helps wipe out illiteracy and ignorance. (Guan, 1990) The native tongue, serving as the instrument of education, helps develop the receiver's intelligence. Looking back to past practical experiences, we may conclude that, in minority regions, by using their own languages, people can better improve their cultural level and study scientific knowledge more easily.

The lingua franca is a language chosen as a medium of communication among speakers of different languages. No one is denying the fact that Han Chinese is the lingua franca in China, with one third of the 55 national minority groups as its concurrent speakers. (Guan, 1990) It might be a scientific and reasonable choice for those minorities who are well versed in Han Chinese to consider Chinese as their educational language, or in a parallel manner, for instance, for Huis and Manchus. However, for the remaining two thirds, the situation will be and should be different.

The government claims that each minority area, based on its actual condition, stipulates its own policy towards minority language teaching. For example, in 1984, the Yunnan provincial government came up with a policy. It stated that in the areas where Han Chinese is not spoken, the teaching of national minority groups' languages must be vigorously carried out. At the same time, Han Chinese was taught in a gradual manner. In the areas where neither Han Chinese is spoken nor minority written scripts preserved, minority language based teaching is strongly advocated; in the areas where Han Chinese is a common language, minority people still have the right of minority language based teaching. (Teng, 1996)

Now the question is how many national minority group members from those groups actually reach the higher educational level, specially with only 40% of the text books (Chapter Five) available in their mother tongue? The evidence used in this thesis shows that the native tongue is the most essential as well as the most effective means to realise education. It also serves as an important tool to recognise one's native culture.

Some Chinese researchers have discovered that the shortcomings of monolingual Han Chinese education are threefold: in first place, it disconnects the pupil's native knowledge from his Han Chinese study. If a pupil has no idea of Han Chinese, he would surely be slow in understanding the contents and learning its techniques. Secondly, during the process of education, the pupils constantly suffer from losing their native tongue and culture. This fact was protested about by some local minorities in Yunnan, who sent their children to study in Buddhist temples in order to preserve their cultural heritage. Thirdly,

after finishing year 9, the pupils who returned to native language-based environment, quickly forgot Han Chinese and were then reduced to illiteracy. (Guan, 1990)

It has been suggested that genuinely-planned bilingual education is the short cut for minorities' education. (Discussed in Chapters Five and Six) This statement has been supported by all the successful practice of various countries, such as USA and former USSR. (Zhang, 1988)

In 1968, the USA government passed the Bilingual Education Act, changing the assimilation policy conducted in previous bilingual education and successfully implementing a mutual policy of multi-languages. In the former USSR's case, until the October Revolution, most of the national minorities was illiterate. However, after the Revolution, within half a century, the cultural and educational level of most of the minorities in USSR had caught up with that of Russian. Take central Asia as an example, where there are around 150 minority graduates for every 1000 people, which is almost the double the figure in the U.K. and Italy. This huge accomplishment was largely attributed to the effective education policy of the former USSR (Guan, 1990).

It has been demonstrated that national minority students who have good command of their mother tongue are quick to learn other languages and those whose native language is poorer have encountered many difficulties while learning the second language. (cf. Chapter Five p114-123). It is believed that there are three important elements which affect second language cognition. The first is the learner's cognitive structure, which is due to the learner's present knowledge and its amount. The second is to what extent the learner can relate his present cognitive structure with his past one while absorbing knowledge. The third is whether or not the learner undertakes such relations consciously. (Teng, 1996)

In this section, the relationship between language and minority education has been discussed. The evidence in this study shows that neither a declared national policy nor a strong psychological, linguistically or pedagogical reasoned case alone, is sufficient

reason for expecting those second-language and literacy objectives to be realised. The national minority members have to have strong motivations towards learning. Students find it easier to learn to read a familiar language than an unfamiliar second language. When the optimum (good at mother tongue) was achieved, it would indicate his ability not only to proceed higher up the second language literacy ladder independently of his first language, but also to cope proficiently with the second language's demands. This study suggests that language, especially the mother tongue, play a very important role in the process of national minority's education and development.

In the past, the Chinese government introduced Han as a new script to certain national minorities who did not have a written script. (cf. p114-123) It worked for certain groups whose language is in the same categorised group as the Han. However, for those whose were not, it became increasingly difficult as they reach higher grade of school year. Consequently, the status of illiteracy and semi-illiteracy among these groups are barely improved. This study, therefore, suggests that it is essential to consider which category a language belongs to before introduce a written script to go with the language. For details of the language categories in China, see **Table 7.1**.

Table 7. 1. Languages categorised in China

No.	Language groups	Sub-groups	Used by Nationalities
1	Sino-Tibetan	Han	Han, Hui, Manchu, She, Oroqen
		Zhuang-Dong	Zhuang, Bouyei, Dai, Li, Dong, Maonan, Gelao, Molao, Shui, Lisu, Achang, Nu, Jing
		Tibeto-Burmese	Tibetan, Jingbo, Yi, Hani, Bai, Tujia, Naxi, Jinuo, Lahu, Qiang, Moinba, Lhoba
		Miao-Yao	Miao, Yao, She

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(Source: Derived and translated from China Encyclopaedia, 1988)

7.3.2 Religion and National Minority Education

Religious belief is one of the features that identify national minority groups in China. It is highly restricted in practice, although the government states in the Constitution that it is totally up to the individual whether one would like to have a religious belief or not. (cf. p51-60 Chapter Three) Religious beliefs play very important role in national minority education. In this section, one of the major religions in China, i.e. Islam, is chosen as a case study to analyse the relationship between the minority education and religious beliefs.

Islam reached ancient China in AD 651 during the reign of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty. (Tan & Feng, 1990) During the Tang and Song dynasties, Arab and Persian merchants came to trade with China, either over land or by sea. Most of the Muslims who came to China during that period were Arab and Persian merchants and not a few of them eventually settled down and married Chinese women of Han nationality. Their descendants became Chinese Muslims, i.e. known as today's Hui, Dongxiang, Bao'an and Sala groups.

During the early 13th century, when Genghis Khan conquered West and Central Asia, large numbers of the Muslims there, known today as Uyghur, Kazak, Tatar, Uzbek, Kirgiz and Tajik, were conscripted and later their land became part of China. Most of them were soldiers, but some of them were artisans and officials. They were all referred to as "Hui" in the history books. These Hui soldiers joined Kublai Khan in his war for the unification of China. Islam spread together with the Huis who moved across China as garrison soldiers and farmers. (Tan & Feng, 1988)

Today Islam has a large following among 10 of China's national minorities, the Hui, Uyghur, Kazak, Tatar, Uzbek, Kirgiz, Tajik, Dongxiang, Bao'an and Sala. Believers total about 18 million, mostly in Northwest China, except for the Huis, who are found all over the country and Sala and Bao'an who gather in the South. Although there is a time sequence for converting to Islam for these nationalities, they are deeply bound with Islam in terms of ideology, behaviour, traditions and customs, culture, education. Therefore, in view of the educational status of these Muslim nationalities, it is nevertheless important to study the role and influence of Islam.

Ever since the establishment of the first mosque in China back in the Tang Dynasty, education conducted inside the mosque began to grow. However, under the strong influence of Han culture, the process of Chinese style Islam accelerated with the newly brought up generation learning to speak and write in Chinese. As a consequence, their ability to read Arabic began to fade day by day. This evolution of religious culture concerned the Hui elite from whom emerged Hu Dezhou from western China, advocating so-called "religious school education" by means of Arabic and Persian, while Wang Daixing from Southeast China believing in elucidating the Koran through Han Chinese. Thus those centuries saw a rapid development of mosque education with Chinese characteristics. (Tan & Feng, 1988)

Chinese scholars like Tan and Feng claimed that as for the Uygur and Kazak people, mosque (Islamic) education did not prevail until the 15th century when Islam became the

dominant religion in Xinjiang region. However, according to the Uyghur historian Talip (1987), the Islamic period centred in Kashghar (a major city in southern Xinjiang) started as early as 870, when the people of Central Asia switched from the old script to the Arabic one. It is also known as the start of the Qara Khanlar period (870-1211). Talip describes this as a turning point and the beginning of a prosperous period for education in the region. He stated:

During the Qara Khanlar period (870-1211) there were primary and secondary schools in all counties and prefectures. In Kashghar, a well-known place for learning, the Sajia Madrassah was set-up. This newly built Sajia Madrassah became a centre for higher education for students, researchers, scientists and teachers from all over Central Asia and abroad.

(Talip, 1987, p38)

According to Talip, teaching subjects as Yunnan (Greek) philosophy, language and linguistics, astronomy, medicine, mathematics, history and geography were what the Sajia Madrassah was famous for in Central Asia. The Qara Khanlar period produced many famous scientists and educationists, such as the encyclopaedists Abunasir Muhammed (870-950), the linguist Mahmut Kashghari (1008-1105) and the educationist Yusup Has Hajip (1016-1090). (Azam, 1989)

This Islamic education period of Qara Khanlar was replaced by Chaghatai (1179-1242) and Yili (a major city in northern Xinjiang) became the centre for education. (Talip, 1987)⁸. According to Azam (1989), Genghis Khan invited Uyghur educationist, Tatar Tunga to be his children's teacher during his empire. It was Tatar Tunga who invented the Kidan and Mongol alphabets, which were based on the classic Orhun alphabet of the Uyghur, while he was teaching in the palace. The alphabets that Tatar Tunga created became Mongolian script. Chaghatai was a student of Tatar Tunga then, later became very dependent on the Uyghur scholars when he came to power. (Ibid.)

⁸ The name of Chaghatai came from Genghis Khan's second son, who was in power at that time

The following period of Islamic education was the Sa'idya Khan (1514-1678) and Yakan (a city near Kashghar in southern Xinjiang) was the centre. (Talip, 1987) This was when that Chinese scholar claimed "the mosque (Islamic) education did not prevail until the 15th century when Islam became the dominant religion in Xinjiang region" to the Uyghur and Kazak people. For obvious reasons, Islamic education in Xinjiang declined after the Sa'idya Khan period. Nevertheless, the achievement of Islamic education and its contributions to the history is unforgettable.

Meanwhile in inner provinces, after nearly four hundred years' development, religious school education had become a legitimate educational system so far as Chinese Muslim nationalities were concerned. It adhered to Chinese characteristics by adopting old-style Chinese private school education combined with Islam.

Generally speaking, the Islamic organisations of Chinese Hui people mainly carry out their religious education through a so-called teaching workshop system. It was formed by absorbing neighbourhood believers with the mosque as its headquarters. The head of the mosque was normally the imam, who was not only in charge of daily religious activities, but was also responsible for education.

Mosque education is regarded by the Chinese as mainly comprising two stages, namely, the elementary learning which aims at teaching a basic knowledge of Islam and ordinary social customs and the higher learning which is to train religious personnel. The elementary learning normally lasts three to four years, and upon graduation the pupils enter the stage of higher learning which may take them three, five or even eight years.

As far as the courses taught in the elementary stage are concerned, there are two types, one is Arabic, and the other is primary religious knowledge. As to the courses conducted in the higher learning stage, these cover such social sciences as morphology, rhetoric, grammar and logic as well as religious studies like canon, Islamic philosophy and mythology.

The role of Islam is crucial when evaluating the relationship between Islam and Muslim groups' education. When we observe from a negative point of view, there has been sharp decrease in elementary school admittance of Muslim students simply because they turn to mosque education instead, which happened right after the resumption of mosque education after the ending of the cultural revolution. However the Chinese tend to look at its positive aspect, as the masses can be expected to get rid off the old tradition of receiving a mosque education with the help of the enlightened religious elite.

As was stated in Chapter One, there are various religious faiths among the national minority groups in China as a result of historical factors. The prevalent religions are Islam, which is followed by ten groups, Mahayana Buddhism by four groups and Hinayana Buddhism by five groups. Quite a few nationalities (including some of the Han) worship nature or ancestors and believe in Gods and ghosts. Western missionaries brought Protestant and Catholic Christianity to certain nationalities, (also including the Han), although the number of convent is relatively small. (Song, 1993)

Religious beliefs affect most of the national minorities and some of the Han and it is one of the major identities of Chinese minorities. Looking back in history, many educational sectors originally set up in religious sectors such as church and mosque. Take higher education as an example, 12th-13th century's Oxford and Cambridge universities were formed and controlled by the church. This study, therefore, suggests that religion has contributed to the formulation of today's education and deserves more respect than it receives. In addition, religion is an essential area to relate to for understanding Chinese national minorities' education.

7.3.3 Social Value and National Minority Education

According to Zhang (1990), the traditional social values of Chinese national minorities are very much related to their education and educational background. The following shows this:

1) The value system determines one's orientation in receiving education.

In the course of human beings' history, people of different periods and different classes hold different values through which they mould their ideal personalities and cultivate their successors.

2) The value system determines the establishment of educational content.

People of different periods and different classes, based their judgements on valuing the objectives which surrounded them, and choose educational content for their dependants by giving top priority to the things of great value.

3) Education also affects the value system.

Education, as a part of the social ideological system, plays an active role in a civilised society, where people's value system is not formed automatically in a objective environment, but is learned and adopted from one's predecessors, whose values were embodied in poetry, fairy tales, religion and classics. In a way, therefore, the value system of a civilised person is the outcome of education.

Like all social factors, there are both positive and negative sides to traditional values. (Zhang, 1988) According to this Chinese researcher, the positive impacts of traditional values upon modern education are as follows:

Firstly, many national minorities realise in their struggle against nature that anything existing in nature can not be altered by a person's will, and that person must make the best of it by following natural rules. This simple notion of materialism makes it easier for them to receive modern scientific knowledge for their own good.

Secondly, some minorities, who are closely related to the Han, maintain the traditional Han Chinese value towards education, that is, to respect the teacher and to crave for knowledge. Considering the marks of minority examinees obtained from the university entrance examination in recent years, it is obvious that a certain number of minority

students have caught up with Han students in terms of marks. However, another reason for this “catch up with Han” could be the case that a particular minority has already or almost been assimilated by the Han.

The negative impacts of traditional values on modern education are also generalised by Zhang (1988). He claimed:

First of all, the values handed down from slavery and feudalism exert a negative influence on modern education. In the slavery and feudalism period, productive labour was just another name for poverty because of an irrelevant economic system. Not only did the rulers look down upon such work, the labourer engaged in such work hoped to get rid of such miserable conditions. Related to this study, by imitating the Han Chinese model, some minority people try to have their children admitted to universities so as to become officials in future, thus avoiding productive labourer, although this is not always relevant in the actual conditions in minority areas. What majority of national minorities really needs to concentrate on is technical education which is vital for productive labour.

Secondly, there are deviations with regard to a person's self value. Currently, for historical reasons, some minority people share an old doctrine towards human self values. In some remote areas, people care much more about the physical strength required by manual labour than knowledge. This kind of ideology is a great setback for the cause of education and it is a duty of the government to improve this situation

Thirdly, religion has a strong impact on national minority education. The recent years have witnessed the development of temple/mosque education in some minority areas. Although temple/mosque education may teach language, it is far from enough for students needing to be exposed to modern science and technology. This is because the government will never put any kind of investment to religious sectors to develop temple/mosque education. In addition, religious beliefs are restricted in China therefore it will stop many national minority people from donating and developing the temple/mosque education.

Finally, experimentalism has a negative impact on education. Many minority members, just like Han Chinese, believe that everything set by their ancestors is unalterable. They simply reject any reforms or changes. Education needs to be reform and requires certain changes for the better. But on the other hand, there is a danger for the minorities as changing process may be used to take away their identities.

(Zhang, 1988)

From the theory developed by the scholars like Zhang, values have a strong link with education. Many writers see that the traditional values have considerable strength, therefore they should not be abandoned in favour of the dominant group's values, but should be utilised in national development. For instance, some knowledge related to the national minority's cultural tradition could be integrated into the national programme, so as to maintain the co-operation of minority people. For example, traditional Uyghur's and Tibetan medicine have long history of development. In fact many recipes of Chinese traditional medicine can be originated to Uyghur's or Tibetan. If the government can set up a study at state level and specify it as Uyghur's or Tibetan traditional medicine instead of calling them all as Chinese traditional medicine, it will certainly help to increase the mutual understanding between the Han and national minorities.

7.3.4 Psychology and National Minority Education

Studying cross-cultural psychology is an essential part of China's national minority education and acculturation (i.e. culturally assimilation) is regarded as one of the most complex areas of research in cross-cultural psychology, because the process involves more than one culture, in two distinct senses. (Berry, 1997)

According to Berry (1997), in relation to psychological acculturation, three main points of view can be identified, each suggesting a different level of difficulty for the individual. The first one considers that psychological changes are rather easy to accomplish, which

has been referred as "behavioral shifts". The second view is regarded as "acculturative stress" in cases where conflicts exist. When major difficulties are experienced, the "psychopathology" or "mental disease" perspectives is most appropriate, which is the third view. Berry claimed that because many colonising powers were highly structured societies and they often imposed such hierarchical structures on indigenous groups, (which is the case of Chinese national minorities), it had been hypothesised that indigenous groups who were more similar to them (i.e. hierarchical) would experience relatively fewer problems, (assumed like Huis and Manchus in China); conversely, those who were most dissimilar were likely to face greater change, and consequently, experience greater acculturative stress, (assumed such as Tibetan and Uyghur). (Berry, 1997)

In relation to the field of Chinese education, the study of cross-cultural psychology indicates that the curriculum, which might be suitable for children in culturally developed areas is not necessarily suitable for the children in culturally less developed areas. Similarly, the teaching contents for Han Chinese children may be unacceptable to minority children. It is simply because of different cultural backgrounds, sentiment and customs. Some Han Chinese theories and values may be incompatible with moral principles and religious beliefs held by national minorities. Take Chinese Moon Festival, the second biggest festival of Han, as an example. Moon Festival is the saddest day for many Mongolian because it reminds them how they lost their empire to the Han as that was the day that Han rebelled by hiding secret letters in the Moon Cakes and distributing them to every Han families. There are still many literature related to Moon festival in the textbooks, which often causes negative effects among the Mongolians.

Therefore, as Thomas (1997) claimed, it should be possible to provide a meaningful and interesting pedagogy that bridges new values with the old, sets former knowledge and skills in the context of the new. This is to achieve the improvement of educational quality and to provide sufficient space in order to enable cultural issues to be addressed in a multicultural society.

According to Tong & Wan (1990), current studies related to the national minorities' psychology in China could be generalised as:

1) The systematic study of children's cognitive development.

This focuses on the development rules of the cognitive structure of different age group children from various nationalities and different regions, and observes the rules and features of intelligence or cognitive development level of children from different minorities as well as the cultural influence upon the children's' cognitive process.

2) Study of the development of thinking and languages.

This is undertaken among the minorities in Northwest China. It observes the impact of cultural difference with regard to development of children's thinking as well as the roles exerted by different languages regarding the development of thinking.

3) Study of development of moral principle cognition, which is based on comparison of Han and minority children in southern Chinese provinces.

This study analyses the impact of different life styles of various national minorities in relation to the development of their moralities. It compares the development of children's judgement and moral concept among different national minorities.

(Tong & Wan 1990)

According to Tong & Wan, the study of cross-cultural psychology based upon one's cultural mentality, as it is believed that the psychological development of individuals can be regarded as a process of cultural acquisition. During the process of upbringing, children tend to perceive the world through a cultural mode which they maintain. The culture provides them with means of understanding the world on the one hand, and on the other hand helps them to cultivate national sentiments for their national cultures and national dignity. (Tong & Wan, 1990)

A famous American cross-cultural psychologist Triandis (1979) claimed that the most important way to single out a certain culture was the exchange opportunities between

cultures and the possibilities of exchanges. By this he meant that whether or not the language spoken by a certain group of people, could be understood by people from another background; whether or not these people were living in the same historical period; and whether or not these people were inhabiting the same place. If any of these elements cannot be matched, we would conclude there are more than two different cultures. However, there is one more element which may not be neglected, which is customs, which direct people of different backgrounds to behave accordingly. (Triandis, 1979)

Many researchers prove that national differences are not the most important factor which affects the psychological development level of minority children. The minority students would achieve the same development as the Han provided that the same excellent cultural and educational environment is offered. (Tong and Wan, 1990)

From psychological point of view, how do the different cultural backgrounds affect national minority education? This study suggests that the difference in economic development levels among various nationalities is one of the factors. Most of the national minorities inhabit remote regions where economic levels are relatively lower than other areas. Because of the underdeveloped commodity economy and their self sufficient natural economy, such people are deprived of contacts with outside regions. As a result, they demand less education than other economically developed areas. However, it is not true in the case of some minorities believing in Islam such as Uighurs and the Huis as these people have been engaged in trade since ancient times, which enable them to have frequent contacts with the outside world.

The educational development level and differences of individuals receiving education have formed the second factor. In some culturally backward regions, where there is no pre-school education, the children attend school at an older age and therefore there is a considerable gap between minorities students and Han Chinese students living in inland regions. Because of language differences, some minorities use translated versions of national teaching materials which are based on the Han culture covering little minority

culture and their traditions. These teaching materials make it difficult for minority students to adapt themselves to a different culture.

The third major factor is the language difference. Some minorities have complete language systems, while some only have spoken form. If a minority group only has spoken language, lives in an isolated environment and is unable to study abstract concepts and knowledge, then there would be a negative impact on their intellectual development.

The studies by the Chinese scholars, such as Sun (1990), suggests that as teaching activities are based on the curriculum and teaching materials in China, these should be built upon at least three factors:

- 1) The structure of knowledge and its organisation requires a sound relation between subject structure and scientific structure. This relationship not only reflects the most basic concept system, but should also fit in cognitive features of the students.
- 2) Social value judgement and value orientation, that is to say, curriculum and teaching materials must convey the social value of a certain cultural background.
- 3) A psychological theory is required to define what kind of curriculum is most economical and most effective for certain aged children.

Berry's (1997) analysis of the psychological acculturation amongst indigenous people has shown that the consequences have usually been more devastating compared to immigration, sojourners refugees and asylum seekers. However, it is among indigenous people world-wide that resistance and cultural survival have been the most remarkable, demonstrating most clearly that assimilation is not the only, or inevitable, outcome of acculturation

7.3.5 Geographical Environment and Education

Traditionally, the geographical environment is regarded as a space used for activities of human beings. Consequently, it is an indispensable element which affects human achievements brought about by human activity.

However, this viewpoint has its limitations simply because it neglects the fact that human beings themselves are part of nature. If we merely follow this traditional thought, we would inevitably fall into a false conclusion that human beings will eventually get rid off geographical restrictions through the progress of technology and social development. Social progress and technological development have proved that the natural environment is a friend rather than an enemy of human beings and they have to work together. (Sun, 1990)

The geographical environment is one of the main elements, which has made minority groups' education how it is. As it was mentioned in Chapter One, minority areas have their own features:

First, although the national minorities in China make up only a small proportion of China's total population, they are spread over sixty percent of the country's total area. They live in the country's western half, and most of these areas are mountainous, plateau, pastoral land and forest areas. A comparatively small number of the groups live in the other parts of China, including on islands off the Southeast coast.

Secondly, as a result of frequent movements from one place to another, migrations and changes of dynasties in the past, the people of various minorities have intermingled and lived in mixed or compact communities. Where a minority group lives in a compact community, the Han, and some other groups, may live in mingled or separate communities.

These features made minority groups' education different from the Han's. It can be understood from the following aspects:

First of all, the geographical distribution of national minority people, when compared with the Han, is rather complicated, being mostly located in remote inland areas, with little access to communications. Unlike the Han who live in vast plain areas or the cities of minority groups' regions, the national minority groups inhabit mountainous and forest provinces as well as harsh Gobi Desert. These very geographical conditions make it difficult to implement a unified educational system. In the countryside and many out of road areas, mainly mountain areas, the population is sparse and transportation is not very convenient. Children usually have a long way to walk everyday in order to go to school, which is located in the town. The teaching hours can not be guaranteed usually, and the curriculum can not be finished on time. So the quality of basic education is always difficult to improve. What is more, most of the students have to do enormous amount of housework and farm work as soon as they get home after the school. Never mind about the daily homework that they are usually unable to finish, they can not even have a proper rest. In these areas, boarding schools are strongly suggested by the elementary school teachers. However, the government never had sufficient funding to provide enough boarding schools, or it does, they are often too expensive for some families to afford.

Secondly, the social environment of minorities differs from that of the Han in three ways, namely, uneven demographic distribution, an imbalance social development and a diversified lifestyle. It takes longer time for the people who live in countryside to communicate and get information from outside areas. Education is not always a priority in many parents' mind. Many people simply give up letting their child have better education because they think it is more practical to have some help in the farm and make some money, rather than letting their children suffer from the hard journey to the school, exams, and more important, money shortage. Instead of school education, many national minorities' children start to learn how to take care of the farm, do the fishing or hunting, after a few years of primary education.

Thirdly, the control environment of minority areas, which is influenced by geographical and social environment, is more complicated than that of Han areas. It is a mixture of tradition, moral value and religious belief. It is a common concern of all nationalities that every national minority group's education should assume the individual tradition, moral value and religious belief. Therefore, due attention has to be paid to the cultural aspect when conducting national minority groups' education.

In general, the national minority groups' education can be influenced by geographical environment in many ways, both directly and indirectly. Directly, the elements, favourable and unfavourable, affect the implementing of teaching programs, establishing teaching personnel and teaching facilities; indirectly, social and control environments restraining minority education, where the geographical environment influences social culture. As educationists, these factors have to be born in mind.

7.3.6 The Population and Their Education

The population of the national minorities is regarded as the foundation for the development of national minorities' education, meanwhile, the quantities of educational sectors are demanded by the very population of the national minorities. Looking into its essential meaning, education is to develop the potential human professional and foster various abilities of human beings through cultivation and training, to develop person's morality and intelligence which in turn enables people to make social choices. No matter what kind of education it is, the human being is always the sole object to whom it renders education. If we look into the heart of national minority education, we see that it reflects to the education conducted in national minority regions where the minorities predominant upon which minority education based.

The scale of national minority population always assumes a certain structure such as national structure, gender structure and age structure. The structures may be associated

with the state of regeneration of various nationalities. Among the three structures, age is considered the most important indicator in the study of a group's state of regeneration. It is also the principle basis for the national minority education. (Wang, 1990)

The basic quality of the population comprises a person's natural quality and social quality. Person's natural quality is decided by the physical quality endowed by nature. Nutritive conditions, living environment and marital behaviour in the process of population development can determine the physical quality. A person's social quality refers to the qualities possessed by a social person such as cultural structure, morality, self-cultivation and the sense of legitimacy. (Zhang, 1987) Therefore, in order to improve the status of a national minority group, the government has to facilitate the group members to improve both their physical quality and their social quality.

This study suggests that, to a certain extent, the achievement made by a minority group in their higher education contribute to that entire group's general development scale although the amount of people who can have their higher education only make up a small part of the whole population. For instance, the Korean group in China is regarded as more advanced one for its lowest rate in illiterate and highest rate in graduates, which are known even better than the Han.

With regard to the direct relationships between education and population, firstly, a relatively high rate in percentage of a minority group's population with certain degree of its own economic development will provide essential environment for developing its education. Secondly, the standard of a certain national minority group forms its shape through its own education. Finally, the overall qualities of social population of national minorities are restrained by the quality of the individual group's education. Therefore, there is a strong relationship between national minorities' population and its education.

If it can be looked at as a circulation between the population and education, it can be a healthy relationship between the qualities of social population and national minorities education, or a mutual resistance negative relationship between them. It can also be an

inter-detraction and less efficient circulation or a less efficient one with restraint population quality. The national minorities' education of different level, different form and different scale is co-ordinated with the national minority's social population with various qualities.

The relationship in terms of quality between social population of minority nationalities and minority education shows that it is vital to develop minority education, which gears bilateral relationship towards mutual progress. In order to develop national minorities' education, top priority should be put to increase investment for their education so as to improve teaching and managerial levels of minority education, educational facilities and conditions. In addition, the educational investments should be fitted into the actual conditions of national minorities concentrated areas.

The second half of this chapter mainly looked at the relationships between national minorities' education and other social factors, namely, language, religion, social value, psychology, population and geography. The conclusion of this chapter, therefore, can be drawn.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the relevance of the findings to the original research question and considered the theoretical and practical implications of these findings. The relevance of the findings was analysed under five headings, namely historical heritage, development, the role of education, civilisation and pluralism or assimilation.

Some of the experts in China, (such as professor Z and H,) claim that the existence of inequality between Han and national minorities is historical and difficult to change, therefore the current government should not be blamed. This study suggests that the real historical element is the "Middle Kingdom" ideology, which unwittingly dominates much

Han thinking. As a result, national minorities are often regarded as underdeveloped and the solution is often seen as bringing about affluence. However, Bishop Gregarious pointed out that the real reason of being underdeveloped was exploitation by the dominant nation or group. (Smith, 1996) Thus, the real solution should be justice.

The Chinese are very proud to call themselves a civilised ancient country. However, Gandhi pointed out that civilisation should be judged by its treatment of national minorities. China might have been a leading country a thousand years ago, but history can only represent the past. What is more important is the present.

As has been shown, national minorities see higher education as being the first step to higher social status; education therefore can only be the tool of empowerment. To contrast to this, the government regards the education sector as a change agent. In respect of national minority issues, it is hoped that educational institutions like the CUN can foster more minority members with Chinese ideology and these elite members of the national minorities will eventually influence the rest.

The evidence of this study shows that the enduring feature of Chinese policy towards national minorities is assimilation by both persuasion and even force. The Chinese Communists introduced a pluralism policy to the national minority groups during the war (between 1921 and 1949) in order to achieve the maximum support from the people. However, as the CCP grew stronger, under the influence of “Middle Kingdom” ideology, the policy towards the national minorities has swung back to the original one, i.e. assimilation.

This Chapter also discussed the theoretical and practical implication of the findings. It suggested that the government’s assimilation policy has been targeting on the aspects such as language, religion, social value, psychology, geographical environment and population, which can be identified as:

- a) enforcing and promoting the Han language
- b) suppressing religious beliefs, especially Islam and Buddhism

- c) limiting national customs and traditional habits
- d) restricting national minority social values
- e) changing the geographical and population patterns of national minority regions by transferring Han to those areas

This study therefore suggests that above aspects have strong links to national minority's education. If there is a need for educational development, these social factors are the key areas to look at. Following on from this, the next chapter of this thesis will draw the main conclusions.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION AND POSSIBILITIES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This chapter, as the conclusion to the thesis, looks back to the main research question and relevant findings. It also provides a general prospect of this study. It is divided into two parts, viz. the main conclusions and possibilities for further research.

8.1. The Main Conclusions

This study addressed itself to the Chinese government's educational policy towards the national minorities with an emphasis on higher education. The problem considered therefore hinges on the identification of the policies specifically between 1922 and 1996.

China has its own form of national inter-group relations, which although different in many respects from that in other parts of the world, nevertheless shares the essential problems of power, conflict and integration. (Dreyer, 1976) According to various studies in the international literature, particularly the theories developed by Simpson and Yinger (1972), Yinger (1981), Banks (1981 & 1995), Holmes (1980) and Berry (1997), the main policies towards the national minorities developed by a dominant group in a multicultural society can be generalised as: assimilation (persuasive or forced), population transfer (peaceful or forced) and pluralism. In addition to these, subjugation and extermination policies were also introduced in the past in some states, although the scale was relatively small. These concepts of nationalism and assimilation discussed by Simpson and Yinger, Banks, Berry and Holmes are considered as relevant to concepts of national minorities in China in this thesis.

As to the policy of the CCP towards national minorities, various discussions and arguments have been persistent. The scholars both inside and outside China have discussed the nature of the policies that have been implemented in China and two relevant views can be drawn from their claims:

The first view was mostly made by Western scholars, such as Dreyer (1976), McMillen (1979) and Watson (1981). After observing the CCP's policy, they claimed that the CCP inherited the nationalist policy of education and based on this, education has expanded with the ultimate goal of assimilation. This is the view supported by this thesis in its investigation of Chinese policy, especially educational policy towards the national minorities. Concerning the assimilation policy, both forced and persuasive methods were used. In addition to that, population transfer is also implicitly part of the assimilation process. At each stage of development since 1949, the government had to face the same question of whether to transfer Han as professionals and skilled workers to the national minority regions, or to give full consideration to the national minorities in the first instance by developing their higher education. The last 50 years of history shows that both policies have been practised with the emphasis on the former, as it is more suitable for the government's major policy towards the national minorities. However, the second opinion, mainly expressed by Chinese scholars, (such as Professor H from the CUN,) claims that regardless of assimilation, nothing but benefits have occurred to national minorities since the CCP came to the power.

The problems of assimilation which, this thesis maintains, currently prevail in higher education are rooted in the ancient Chinese "Middle Kingdom" ideology that has at least 2,000 years of history. Communist Chinese policies towards the national minorities are the combination of "Middle Kingdom" ideology and Marxism-Leninism philosophy. As Thomas Gold pointed out, the citizens of the People's Republic of China were caught in two historic streams: traditional Chinese culture and the Leninist traditions of the Communist party. (Friederichs, 1988) Therefore, it became essential for this thesis to

examine these in order to identify the real changes of the CCP's policy from pluralism to assimilation.

Historically speaking, traditional Chinese imperial dynasties had a policy of ignoring national minority groups. In other words, national minority's culture and government systems were not interfered with as long as the groups recognised imperial over-lordship and did not attempt to invade Han territory. This was recognised as a pluralist form of integration that aimed at little more than control. (Dreyer, 1976) Underpinned by the traditional "Middle Kingdom" ideology, the Han were very proud of their own culture and traditions and also very proud of being a superior nation compared to neighbouring groups. Consequently, they did not care for the history or culture of the other nationalities. Then after 1911, when the Chinese National Party (KMT) overthrew the last emperor and formed the Republic of China, this Han policy towards the national minorities became more explicit. (Watson, 1981)

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) formed its very first policy towards the national minorities as early as 1922, one year after its founding. As Watson described it, at the Second Party Congress in 1922, Mongolia (Inner), Tibet and Turkestan were proclaimed as 'autonomous states' and regional autonomy in a 'Chinese Federal republic' was advocated. In 1930 the Ten Great Political Programmes gave the minorities the right to secede or federate. In 1931 the Jiangxi Soviet Constitution (modelled on the 1924 Soviet Union Constitution) explicitly stated that minorities had the right of self-determination and of secession, as well as religious freedom and equality with all nationalities. (Watson, 1981)

The victory of the CCP in 1949 saw the replacement of the feudal and semi-feudal Chinese social system by a socialist one that promised to be democratic and different from any previous Chinese government. As a result of this great victory, national minority people began to be more controlled by the central government in Beijing. Since then, the government has been insisting on the equality of all the 56 groups of majority

and minorities. Thus in September 1949, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference adopted a common Programme which emphasised:

- Equality of each of the national minority groups with the Han majority group.
- Freedom of each of the national minority groups to preserve its language, religion and customs.
- Indivisibility of the Chinese nation.
- Right to regional autonomy of national minority groups.
- Right of members of national minority groups to serve in the armed forces.

(Watson, 1981)

However, there has been a huge gap between what has been stated in the Constitution and what has been happening in practice. The national minorities were encouraged to take a pride in their own culture and tradition, which was written in the 1949's (draft) and 1954's Constitution. However, the reality did not conform to the Constitution. National minorities' cultures and traditions received frequent criticism during one after another political movements between 1950 and 1980, such as "Anti-rightist and local Nationalist" and Cultural Revolution. In the educational field, as a result, the curriculum was considerably standardised throughout the country with great emphasis been laid on learning standard Han Chinese, learning the history of the CCP, learning Marxism and Leninism theories, learning Chinese classical literature and also patriotism. It was not difficult to see that the long-term aim of the government was to assimilate the national minorities and integrate them into a unified Han Chinese state, where the Communist ideology was widely accepted through the code word "nationalism". President Jiang Zemin once put it that in contemporary China, patriotism and socialism are in their nature indistinguishable. (Buruma, 1998)

Despite the tremendous achievements that have been made in the quantitative expansion of education during the past 50 years in China, there have been problems of inadequate facilities and inefficiency in the higher learning institutions for the national minorities like the CUN. Most importantly, there is poor access to higher education for those

national minorities who insist on maintaining their national identities in areas such as language, religion and cultural tradition.

As has been discussed in this thesis, many national minorities in China are identified by their languages, religious beliefs, costumes and traditions, rather than by the colour of their skin or hair. The government is aware of this fact and also that a successful assimilation process has to start with an emphasis on the above aspects where education plays a key role.

The government admits that national minority groups play an important role in the development of political, economic and cultural strategies for the whole of national development and higher education contributes to the better distribution of services among these groups. Especially under the new strategy of modernisation, many national minority regions have been preparing to undertake this ambitious plan and become important bases for China's economic growth. Such a big plan requires a base of science and technology developed through higher education. From this point of view, it is essential to improve the national minorities' education, especially higher education. This assumption also matches with the demand of the national minorities. There is a strong belief among the minority groups that higher education contributes to the well being of the individual and helps to obtain a better life style. As a result of this, there are nationally segregated primary and secondary school in the national minority autonomous regions. The mother tongues are the media of instruction in different national minority schools. All this is in the context of a nation-wide unified curricula, with standard Chinese as a compulsory subject starting at the beginning of the third year of primary school. However, things are slightly different in higher learning institutions where Han Chinese is the language of instruction. The priority of higher learning institutions like the CUN is to train successors from among the various national minorities through the curriculum and also through political education, which was believed to be absolutely necessary.

Regarding the religious issue, since 1949, the law has forbidden all children under 18 from learning about religious doctrine. Instead, communist ideology has been introduced

in all educational sectors. The national minorities have been encouraged to believe the philosophy of one party, one nation, one big family and that all nationalities have to be the members of this family. It is not difficult to identify the above philosophy as following the same concept of Middle Kingdom ideology which has at least 2,000 years of history.

Yinger (1981) pointed out that assimilation was not a one-way process and it is reversible. Experiences of various multiethnic and multinational countries, such as the USA, the USSR, India, and China have confirmed Yinger's theory. From their experiences one can conclude that an assimilation policy does not necessarily promote social stability. They can increase social problems and may even militate against permanent unity in a culturally diverse society, especially when the national minorities realise that they are still facing political and economic disadvantages.

In the attempt to achieve their goal of national assimilation, the Han constantly downgrade national minority's cultures. National minorities were often laughed at by the Han for their imperfect Chinese, for their unusual national costumes and for their religious or ceremonial traditions. Most minority groups often felt the strong discrimination against them in their daily life. They resisted this assimilation and oppression and there were numerous violent struggles and strikes in national minority areas. As was discussed in Chapter Three, the Tibetan Revolt in 1959, Uyghur's exodus to Russia in 1962, students demonstrations in 1985 in Urumqi and demonstrations in 1997 in Yili demonstrated that Yinger's theory, that the assimilation process is reversible, has some purchase on the situation in China. What the national minority groups often demanded through the various protests was one thing, i.e. equality.

The Chinese government assumption seems to be that equality of opportunity in life is only possible in a society that is culturally monistic and that in a plural society, ethnic pluralism and socio-economic advance are not compatible. This, it had been argued, is the ethnic dilemma faced by members of minority groups.(Glazer, 1979) Complete assimilation would mean that no separate social structures based on national minority

issues remained. In the contemporary world, the scientists and researchers have generally believed that the trend is rather towards a substantial pluralism than to any uniformity.

The Chinese government has tried to show the great achievement of national minorities' education under its leadership by revealing information on the increasing numbers of schools and enrolments compared to the situation before 1949. However, no matter how high the percentage of national minorities relative to Han in higher education enrolments have been, their percentages until 1996 have always been lower than their percentage of the total population. Again this shows that there has been inequality of access to higher education. More, the rapid expansion in numbers has been accompanied by increased assimilation. The data in this thesis indicate how the government's policy has worked out in practice and how it has already affected the national minorities.

The statistics in this thesis show that the degree of inequality between Han and national minorities was not the same at all levels of education. For instance, **Table 4.1** (pp83) showed that the percentages concerning primary level education were relevantly close or even higher. This indicates that the government is more effective in primary education compared to higher education. The government is however aware of the fact that it is higher education that makes a difference in one's cultural development.

In order to identify the policy implemented in this big multicultural country-China, the main research question was formulated at the beginning of this study, which was **“what are the enduring features of Chinese policy, especially the educational policy, towards national minorities”**. Accordingly, very close attention has been given to examining the major types of policies developed by the dominant groups in multicultural societies and their educational consequences. This study has also examined the basic policies towards national minorities in China and their educational consequences, especially the policies since 1949. It traced the roots of the assumptions underpinning the policy implementation process. In particular, the importance of the “Middle Kingdom” concept was discussed. In addition, the role of education, specifically the role of higher education, the structure of the Chinese educational system and how it functions, the

reactions of the students, teachers, parents and administrators towards the government's policy were closely examined. Thus, the main features of Chinese policy towards the national minorities were identified.

From all of this, first of all, the evidence found by this study underlines the fact that there is a long history of inequality between the Han Chinese and the national minorities and it is difficult to change it, at least in the foreseeable future. This is because of the Middle Kingdom assumptions that underpin the Han mind and which affects both policy formulation and policy implementation process.

Secondly, the data analysed in the thesis shows that the government faces a dilemma and can never be sure about how much allowance should be given to the national minorities in order not to upset socio-economic development. This can be identified from the unsteady policies of the government in the past 50 years.

Thirdly, there is a great deal of difference between the government and individual minority group members regarding the role of education. The government wants national minority people to believe that higher education is especially provided for them and priority is given to them, although it appears in practice that higher education is designed to assimilate the minority groups, which is often regarded as for their own good.

Fourthly, one of the main findings of this study is that a government's policy towards its national minority groups is one of the areas to consider before one can judge if that particular nation is civilised. If this theory is acceptable, China has some way to go before it can be called a civilised nation again in regard to this area.

Finally, assimilation, as one of the major policies developed by the dominant national groups in a multicultural society, has been the main implicit policy towards the national minorities in China, although the CCP and its government did try to introduce pluralism in the early years of their history.

Concerning the current modernisation process, the basic problems related to national minorities are the relationship between social equality, economic development, cultural autonomy and national integration. As claimed by this study, Chinese policy towards its national minorities is a combination of Marx and Leninism and Middle Kingdom ideology. The CCP have relied on nationalism, successfully united the whole nation (including national minorities) and established the PRC. In this respect, Marx and Lenin's Communist theories facilitated the Chinese unification, which did not contradict where Middle Kingdom ideology leads. However, believing in Communist theory, the government has to emphasis social equality in its policies, i.e. equality between man and woman, between rich and poor, between strong and weak and also between bigger or smaller groups. Then the real equality between the national groups (at some points) will naturally clash with Middle Kingdom ideology, which is perhaps one of the reasons that why the policy implementation is always difficult to match up with the policy itself. The CCP therefore, often finds itself in such a political dilemma between Communism and Middle Kingdomism. On the one hand, the government would like to follow the Communist way and guarantee the social equality and cultural autonomy for the national minorities. At the same time, it feared that too much freedom might cause separation. On the other hand, the government also worried that if there was not enough freedom for the national minorities to develop their culture and economy, there would be restless conflicts, which would affect the nation-wide development process.

Berry and Sam (1997) suggested that because integration involves some degree of heritage culture maintenance, there is some chance that such policies may unintentionally result in moves toward separation. In order to avoid this, integration policies need also to have elements that encourage cultural communities to involve themselves in the larger society, and that also encourage the larger society to make room for those who are culturally different and accept those as full members. Does having an ethnic identity in any way fragment an individual or create problems of national unity for a society? According to the researchers such as Berry, at the individual level, that a bicultural identity is associated with the integration strategy. Evidence generally suggests that this identity would be the most supportive of good adaptation. Holding an ethnic or dual

identity does not diminish one's sense of attachment or commitment to a country as a unified society. (Berry and Sam, 1997)

8.2. Possibilities for Further Research

As far as this study is concerned, the Chinese government has to work on the following aspects before it can achieve an ideal society for the national minorities, where everyone is equal.

- 1) Guarantee equal opportunity on access, facility and achievement in higher education and jobs, with no regard of national minorities' cultural background. Language skill (i.e. Han) is essential, however, it should not be the most important criterion amongst the other skills and abilities.
- 2) Educate all citizens to show respect to national minorities' culture, which can be done by producing intercultural education handbooks and introducing them into the curriculum. This means that not only will the Han learn national minorities' culture but also national minorities will learn each others. Further, cultural communication and mutual understanding hopefully will be built up.
- 3) Help national minorities build up confidence in using their mother tongue, as mother tongue is the basic condition for learning other subjects, and also it will help in the learning of other languages.
- 4) The government has to look after the economic development in national minority regions in order to move education forward. Since the reform and open door policy has been implemented, China has attracted many foreign investors. Most of the investment was used in the east coast provinces where the Han were based. After twenty years of

development, the gap between the East and West of the country has become even wider. Economically backward situations can hold back educational development.

5) Separate the political and religious issues. Learning from Western countries, politics and religion are two different issues. For instance, two politicians can share a same religious belief but have two separate political beliefs. Meanwhile, in a political party, members can be from different religious background. Having a religious belief is not equivalent to being against a certain political control.

In conclusion, a special educational reform concerns the national minorities can take place, which can be aimed at the following factors:

- a) Give everyone a chance, through educational training and work to realise their full potential.
- b) Strengthen the skills education of 16 plus young people, as the majority of them leave the schools.
- c) Promote life long education for older people, as this can reduce semi-illiteracy and illiteracy among the national minorities.
- d) Help people without jobs to get into work, which can be done by increasing the investments in national minority regions and creating job opportunities for the local people.

Learning from other countries, the Chinese government's policy programme perhaps can concentrate following on the areas: innovation and diversity, inclusivity and equality, access and participation, employability and skill, raising standard and attainment, and finally, a community focus. The vision of success will be an inclusive and prosperous society, where people value life long learning and the development of skills and where everyone makes an effective contribution to the society.

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Appendix 1

Interview Questions for Students (1996)

(1). General Information

Gender: Male Female

Nationality:

Age:

Parents' Education: primary... secondary..., higher...

Parents' Occupations: factory worker, farmer,
intellectual, others

Annual Family Income: lower, average, higher

Members of Family in Household: 3, 4, 5 or more

Religion: Islam, Buddhism, others

Subject of study: Literature, Language, Music,
Philosophy, Religion

(2). Experience in the University

a. What kind of activities do you participate in the most?
sport music art traditional activities politics

b. Where do you get the most satisfaction from in the university ?
social life attending lectures self-study others

c. What difficulties do you meet in your university life?
exams home-sick others

d. With whom do you share your happiest moment?
room-mate classmate fellow countryman lover

e. With whom do you share your difficult moment?
teacher classmate fellow countryman alone

f. Are your friends mainly from the same nationality as yours? If not, are they from the same area as yours?
same nationality same place none

g. Which language do you speak more often in the class, Han or your mother tongue (if it is different from Han)?

h. Which language do you speak more often outside your classroom, Han or your mother tongue?

i. What kind of subjects do you enjoy the most in the class?

major optional physical education others

j. What kind of classes do you dislike to attend?

major political theory

k. Do you feel you have adjusted well to the university environment? In which way?

(3). Values and Social Status

a. Do you think your value has changed since you entered university? In which way?

b. Do you think your social status has changed? Explain.

c. Do you think higher education helped you to acquire a higher social status? Please explain.

d. Do you feel your life style is different from that of people in your home town? If it is, since when have you discovered that it is different?

f. What are the opinions of your classmates/schoolmates towards you?

(agree with you totally, partly or disagree with you)

g. Do you think your teachers treat you as fairly as students from other ethnic backgrounds? Please give some examples.

(4). Future Plans

What would you like to do after you finish your study in this university and why?

(5). What would you suggest to the administrators of this university so that they can improve the university life?

(about teaching method, curriculum, social life...)

供学生填写

一 个人简况

姓名： 性别： 民族： 年龄
出生地： 家庭住址：
父母文化程度： 初级 中级 高级
父母职业： 工人 农民 牧民 知识分子
年收入： 低于中等水平 中等水平 高于中等水平
家庭主要成员： 3人 4人 5人 或 更多
所在系科： 在校年限： 宗教信仰：

二 学校生活

- 1 您最喜欢参加的活动是什麼？
(音乐，美术，体育，民族活动，政治活动，其它)
- 2 在学校生活里，最令您满意的是什麼？
(社会活动，上课，自学或其它)
- 3 在学校生活里，最令您感到困难的是什麼？
(考试，想家)
- 4 与谁您分享最兴奋的时刻？
(同学，同乡，同宿舍人，老师)
- 5 与谁您度过最困难的时刻？
(同学，同乡，同宿舍人，老师)
- 6 您朋友是否大多与您同乡，或同民族？
- 7 哪种语言您使用的最频繁，母语还是汉语？
(课上，课外)

- 8 您最喜欢上的课是什麼？
(专业课，选修课，政治理论，体育)
- 9 您最不喜欢上的课是什麼？
(专业课，选修课，政治理论，体育)
- 10 您是否认为您已经适应了大学生活环境？从哪方面？

三 价值与社会地位

- 1 您是否认为自从步入大学后，您自身的价值改变了？
- 2 您是否认为您的社会地位有所改变？
- 3 您是否认为高等教育有利与您步入更高社会地位？
- 4 您是否认为您的生活方式与您家乡的同伴有所不同？
- 5 您家乡人们是如何看待您的社会地位的？
- 6 您的同学校友是否赞成您的观点？
- 7 您认为您的老师对待班上学生是否一视同仁？请举例说明。

四 您未来的计划是什麼？

五 您对大学管理，教学方法，课程安排，社会活动方面有何建议？

Appendix 2

Semi-structured Interview Questions for Teachers(1996)

(Personal information: name, age, sex, nationality, department, title, religious belief)

1. Are you happy working in this university?
2. What do you enjoy most about teaching national minority students?
3. What are the difficulties experienced in teaching minority students?
4. Do you spend some time with your students apart from the compulsory teaching hours? If yes, what do you normally do during that time?
5. Do you exchange any ideas with your colleagues? If yes, what nationality are they mainly, is it Han or one of the minorities? What is the main issue you talk about?
6. What is your opinion about bilingual education?
7. Do you think the university is helping the national minority students uphold their national identities? Please explain.
8. Do you have any contact with your students who have already graduated? What do you know about their present life? More details will be appreciated
9. As a university lecturer, you are quite familiar with the situation of national minority's education, what is your comment about it in general?

供教师填写

一 个人简况

姓名： 性别： 民族：

所在系科： 在校工作年限：

职称： 宗教信仰：

二 问题

- 1 您对您的工作是否满意？为什么？
- 2 在您教学期间，最令您满意的是什麼？
- 3 在您教学期间，您感到最困难的是什麼？
- 4 除了上课外，您是否常与您的学生在一起？
- 5 您是否常与您的同事交流工作？若是，他们大多是否与您同族？
- 6 您对双语教学如何看待？
- 7 您是否认为学校在帮助少数民族学生保持他们的传统文化？
- 8 您与您的毕业生是否还有联系？您知道他们的近况吗？
- 9 您对民族教育工作一定很熟悉，您对整个教育工作有何看法？
(如：教学大纲，制度，教学方法，内容，管理，等)

Appendix 3

Semi-structured Interview questions for Administrators(1996)

(Personal information: name, age, sex, nationality, department, title, religious belief)

1. How long have you been working in this university?
2. Are you happy with your job?
3. Do you think that the CUN is quite different from other higher learning institutions within the country?
4. What are the main roles of this university?
5. What is the government's present educational policy towards national minorities? How is this university expected to implement it?
6. To most of the students, Beijing is completely different from where they come from originally, in another word, they are separated from their own traditional culture. Under these circumstances, what does the CUN do?
7. From the administrative view, what can be improved in the near future? Any comment. (What is the government's plan on improving the national minorities' education in future?)
8. What is your opinion about bilingual education? (Do you think the Han, who have been living in one of the national minorities' autonomous region for a life-time, should learn some local nationality languages?)
9. Do you think the government is helping the national minorities to keep their national identities through the educational system?

供管理人员填写

一 个人简况

姓名： 性别： 民族：

所在系科： 在校工作年限：

职称： 宗教信仰：

二 问题

- 1 您从事民族教育工作有多长时间？
- 2 您对所从事的工作是否满意？原因。
- 3 您是否认为民族院校与其它大专院校有差异？若有，它们有何特征？
- 4 民族大学的主要作用是什么？
- 5 民族教育政策是什么？
- 6 您是否认为民族大学能够体现党的民族政策？
- 7 学校如何协助少数民族学生保持他们的民族传统文化？
- 8 从管理角度看，您认为有哪些方面需要尽快改进才能真正发挥民族大学的作用？

Appendix 4

Questionnaire for Students and Graduates (1997)

THIS QUESTIONNAIR IS ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY TOWARD ETHNIC MINORITIES. YOU ARE INVITED TO FILL OUT THE QUESTIONNAIR IN ORDER TO HELP ME TO FIND OUT WHAT YOU THINK ABOUT MANY ASPECTS RELATED TO THE MINORITIES' EDUCATION. YOUR OPINION IS VERY IMPORTANT AND ANY ANSWER GIVEN BY YOU WILL BE TREATED CONFIDENTIALLY.

Part One: Biographical Information

Nationality:

Gender: Female Male....

Age: Under 20.... 20-25.... 26-30.... Over 30....

Religion: Buddhist... Muslim... Christian... Other...

Subject of study.....

Parent's education: F=Father, M=Mother

University graduates.....

Secondary School Graduates.....

Primary education.....

Parent's Occupation: F=Father, M=Mother

Professional.....

Skilled Worker.....

Farmer.....

CCP Cadre.....

Monthly Income of Your Parent:

Under 500 Yuan..... 500-1000 Yuan.....

1000-2000 Yuan..... over 2000 Yuan.....

Your permanent address:

Urban..... Rural.....

Part Two:

1. What is the main reason for you to choose the CUN? Is it

A: the CUN is especially designed for the national minorities like myself and I wanted to study here;

B: My parent wanted me to study in CUN;

C: My friends suggested me;

D: I was chosen to come here

2. Do you think your ethnic identity has been influenced by Han culture since you left your hometown?

Extent of Influence: Great... Some... Very little... Not at all... Don't know...

Please give one reason for your answer

3. What do you expect to get from the CUN by the time you finish your study? Is it

A: higher social status;

B: better value;

C: better job opportunity;

D: improve my ability;

E: increase my self-confidence

Others...

4. Do you think the CUN is reaching your expectation? If yes, to what extent?

Great.... Some.... very little..., or not at all....

Please give one reason for your answer.....

5. Are you happy with the system of the CUN related to the following factors?

A: entrance exam; Yes..... No.....

Give one reason for your answer.....

B: scholarship; Yes..... No.....

Give one reason for your answer.....

C: curriculum; Yes..... No.....

Give one reason for your answer.....

D: teaching method; Yes..... No.....

Give one reason for your answer.....

E: administration Yes..... No.....

Give one reason for your answer.....

6. Do you think becoming modernisation and maintaining ethnic identity are contradictory?

Yes..... No..... Not sure.....

Please give one reason for your answer.....

7. Do you think that discrimination against ethnic minorities still exist?

If yes, to what extent?

Great some..... very little.... not at all....

Please give at least one reason for your answer.....

8. What do you plan to do (for the graduates: what do you do) after you graduate from the CUN?

A: continue higher education;

B: find a full-time job;

C: start my own business;

D: help with my family farming;

E: others.....

第一部分：

(請在適當處打勾)

被考察人的民族：

性别：

年齡： 20歲以下 --- 20-25歲 --- 26-30歲 --- 30歲以上 ---

所學專業：

本人來自：城市--- 或 鄉村---

宗教信仰：佛教--- 伊斯蘭教--- 基督教--- 或其它（請注明）

父母文化程度：大學---（父，母）

中等專科---(父,母)

初等教育---(父,母)

父母職業：專業人員---(父，母)

技術工人---(父,母)

農牧民 --- (父 , 母)

行政幹部---(父,母)

父母月收入： 600元以下--- 600-1000--- 1000-2000--- 2000元以上---

第二部分：

(請在適當答案前打勾)

1 您選擇中央民大的主要原因是什麼？

A 中央民大爲象您這樣的少數民族特別設置。

B 您父母要求您上中央民大。

C 您的同學朋友建議您上中央民大。

D 您被偶然選種，您便聽其自然的來到中央民大。

2 您是否覺得自從您來到中央民大，您的民族文化受到漢族文化的影響？

A 是的---, 很大程度---, 某種程度---, 很少---

B 否 --- ,

C 不知道 ---

(請給一個理由說明您的選擇)

3 您從中央民大這所高等院校期待得到的是什麼？

A 獲取更高社會地位。

B 更好的社會價值。

C 更多的就業機會。

D 增進自我知識，能力。

E 增進自信心。

4 您認為中央民大是否能夠滿足您的心願？
A 若是，在很大程度上---，某種程度---，很少---
B 根本沒有---
(請給一個理由說明您的選擇)

5 您對中央民大現行制度是否滿意？

A 入學招生，錄取制度
是---，否---
(請給一個理由說明您的選擇)

B 獎學金制度
是---，否---
(請給一個理由說明您的選擇)

C 課程設置
是---，否---
(請給一個理由說明您的選擇)

D 教學方法
是---，否---
(請給一個理由說明您的選擇)

E 管理方式
是---，否---
(請給一個理由說明您的選擇)

6 您是否認為成為現代化與保持民族傳統會相抵觸？
是---，否---，不知道---
(請給一個理由說明您的選擇)

7 您是否認為民族歧視依然存在？
是---，在很大程度上---，某種程度---，很少---
否---
(請給一個理由說明您的選擇)

8 您打算畢業後做什麼？(畢業生：您目前在做什麼？)

- A 繼續攻讀更高學位。
- B 找到一個合適的工作。
- C 設立自己的公司業務
- D 幫助父母經營農牧場。
- E 其它請說明。

(非常感謝您的熱情幫助，祝您生活學習愉快！)

Appendix 5

List of Higher Learning Institutions For National Minorities

Central University for Nationalities (Beijing)
Middle South Institute for Nationalities
Northeast Institute for Nationalities
Southwest Institute for Nationalities
Northwest Institute for Nationalities
Northwest Second Institute for Nationalities
Guangdong Institute for Nationalities
Guangxi Institute for Nationalities
Guizhou Institute for Nationalities
Hubei Institute for Nationalities
Qinghai Institute for Nationalities
Tibet Institute for Nationalities
Yunnan Institute for Nationalities

Appendix 6

CUN Students' Time Tables (1998-1999)

	8:00-10:00am	10:00-12:00am	2:00- 4:00pm	6:00- 8:00pm
Monday	English	Ancient Uyghur Language	Political Science	Deng Xiao-ping Theory
Tuesday	Chinese History	Writing	Computer	
Wednesday	Ancient Uyghur Language	Chinese Grammar		
Thursday	Chinese History	English	Computer	Deng Xiao-ping Theory
Friday	Chinese Grammar	English		
Note: This is for Year 4 students in Uyghur language subject				

	8:00-10:00am	10:00-12:00am	2:00- 4:00pm	6:00- 8:00pm
Monday	Chinese (Advance)	Political Science	Writing	Deng Xiao-ping Theory
Tuesday	Uyghur Language	Physical Education	Chinese (Advance)	
Wednesday	Religions of Turkic nations	Chinese (Advance)		
Thursday	Chinese (advance)	Political Science	writing	
Friday	Uyghur Language	Chinese		
Note: This is for Year 2 students in Uyghur language subject				

Appendix 7

The Convention of Means

A group average for the item is calculated by the following procedure:

1. Assign a scale value to each point on the continuum:

Great extent some extent very little not at all

I-----I-----I-----I
4 3 2 1

2. Tally the number of responses for each point on the continuum. On the item:

5 people responded "4"

18 people responded "3"

4 people responded "2"

0 people responded "1"

27 people in total

3. Multiply the number of responses times the value of the responses and add the results.

$$5 \times 4 + 18 \times 3 + 4 \times 2 + 1 \times 0 = 82$$

4. Divide the number obtained on the previous step by the total number of responses.

$$82/27=3.04$$

3.04 is the average (mean) response to the item for the group of 27 people. It shows a tendency slightly over "Some extent".

(Source: Henerson, 1987)

Appendix 8

A Brief Chinese Chronology

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



(Source: Qi, 1988)

